



*Edgar Lobel*

THE  
/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /  
VOLUME L

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

This fiftieth volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* goes to press in the hundredth year of the Egypt Exploration Society. We have chosen for it a miscellany of texts, to represent the range and interest of the Society's unpublished holdings; and invited editions of them by as many as possible of the papyrologists who have worked in the United Kingdom over the last forty years.

The senior contributor is Mr Lobel. He died on 7 July 1982, at the age of 93; his portrait forms the frontispiece of this volume, which contains his last completed work.<sup>1</sup> With him died the heroic age. Grenfell and Hunt began the Society's papyrological publications, and it was their practical, productive energy that gave the books their special character. Turner has written the history of the early days;<sup>2</sup> as a memorial of them, we reproduce below Hunt's typically bluff advice on conservation, and a plan of Oxyrhynchus by Grenfell and Hunt. Lobel refined the methods, and excelled the knowledge, of his predecessors; students of Greek poetry owe a unique debt to his genius. At the same time he inherited and continued a particular style: no parade of scholarship, no clutter of bibliography; no shrinking from 'I', when the pronoun properly represented the subjective limitations of eyesight and intuition; an insistence on fact and precision, a distaste for easy solutions and grandiose speculations. This is a tradition of which we are proud; we hope that our next fifty volumes will maintain it.

We owe the indexes once more to the skills of Dr H. M. Cockle; and the rapid and elegant production to the Oxford University Press. One large and long-standing debt should be specially acknowledged. Since 1955 at least twenty of our volumes have profited from the tacit corrections and quoted suggestions of the same Oxford Press Reader. Tradition made him anonymous; but since he has now retired, we can record our warmest thanks to Mr James Fettes.

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*General Editors,  
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

December 1982

<sup>1</sup> A memoir of Mr Lobel, by Turner, will appear in *Gnomon*.

<sup>2</sup> *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982* (ed. T. G. H. James: British Museum Publications, 1982) 161 ff.

B749203

# THE DAMPING OUT AND FLATTENING OF POPYRI

*Memorandum by Professor A. S. Hunt*

In my opinion the method adopted by Mr Lamacraft<sup>1</sup> is needlessly elaborate. I use no boards, blotting paper, leaden weights, relaxing boxes, etc: my implements are:

1. Any table of convenient size, the surface of which will not be spoilt by damp;
2. a couple of smooth cloths (worn out face-towels are convenient in size and texture);
3. three small brushes, one soft, one medium, one hard;
4. a rather blunt pen-knife;
5. good sized sheets of paper (any fairly stout, unglazed paper, whether printed or plain, will serve).

The cloths are dipped in cold water and then wrung out, so that they are left fairly moist. They are then spread out on the table, and the papyri to be flattened or unrolled (after surface dirt has been brushed off so far as possible) are placed between them.

After a few minutes the flattening or unrolling process can be started, and is proceeded with as the papyrus absorbs moisture enough to become soft. It should not be allowed to get really wet.

For smoothing the papyrus, there is nothing like the human thumb and fingers. When the flattening is completed, the sheet is removed and placed between sheets of dry paper with a weight (a good heavy book, e.g.) on top. The weight can be removed after about 24 hours, and the papyri will then dry more quickly. In ordinary weather they will be dry enough in two or three days. The 'sweating' process described in Mr Lamacraft's memorandum is superfluous, at any rate with most papyri.

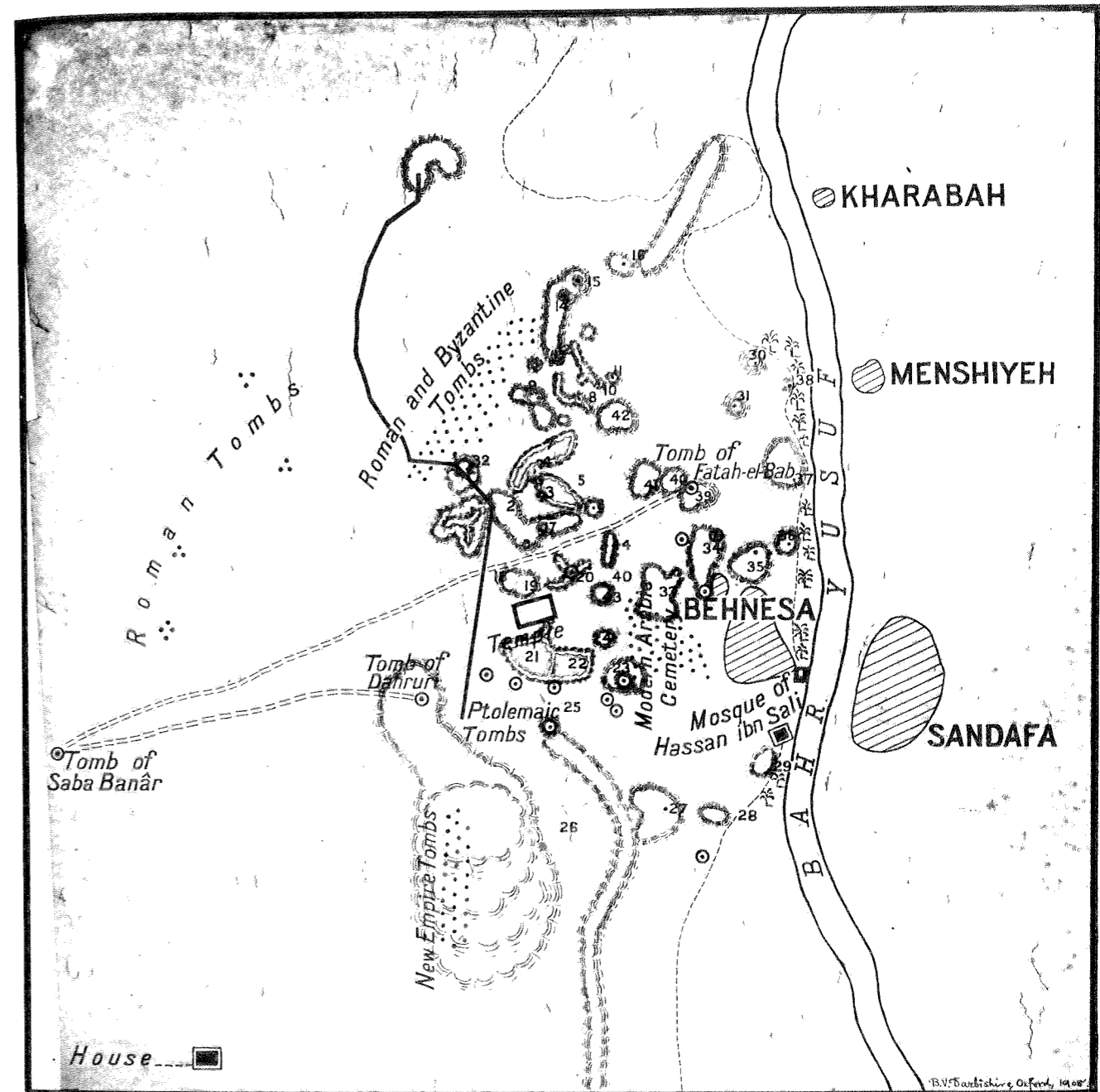
For 999 papyri out of 1000 the above method will answer perfectly. Only when the material is very decayed and brittle need other methods be resorted to. As a general rule, the more fragile the papyrus the slower should be the absorption of moisture. A simple way of retarding the absorption is to place sheets of paper between the damp cloths and the papyrus.

Papyri should not be mounted under glass until they have been deciphered. Not only are they more easily read when unglazed, but also minor defects of flattening or adjustment of fibres often become apparent only as decipherment proceeds, and it is then easy enough to eliminate them.

October 20, 1920

A. S. HUNT

<sup>1</sup> Hunt was commenting on a paper, which gave more detailed and technical instructions for the conservation of papyri, by Mr Lamacraft of the British Museum.



PLAN OF OXYRHYNCHUS

Drawn by B. V. Darbishire, 1908, from sketches by Grenfell and Hunt.  
(The key to the numbers is lost.)

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AKB	= A. K. Bowman	EL	= E. Lobel	JLR	= J. L. Rowlandson
HMC	= H. M. Cockle	HM	= H. Machler	TCS	= T. C. Skeat
WEHC	= W. E. H. Cockle	PJP	= P. J. Parsons	JDT	= J. D. Thomas
RAC	= R. A. Coles	TSP	= T. S. Pattie	EGT	= E. G. Turner
EWB	= E. W. Handley	JRR	= J. R. Rea	JEGW	= J. E. G. Whitehorne
MWH	= M. W. Haslam	CHR	= C. H. Roberts		

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets <> a mistaken omission in the original, braces {} a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [[]] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16* (1978) 64-5), except when they serve to distinguish the two sides of a page in a papyrus codex. In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

3522. LXX JOB 42: 11-12

34 4B.72/J(1)a

10.5 × 7.0 cm

First century

This scrap has the top of one column, and traces of the next; the back is blank. The lines are of 19-22 letters; the columns perhaps of 15 lines, which would give a roll-height of c. 14 cm (see col. ii n.). There are no lectional signs; punctuation by blank space (i 4, 5, 7). The informal upright bilinear script, in which the verticals are often ornamented with back-hooks, has similarities with Roberts, *GLH* 9a (7-4 BC) and with the more developed 11a (later 1st cent. AD); a date in the early first century would suit.

A copy in roll-form, and of this date, will have been Jewish, not Christian (cf. C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief* 29 ff., 74 ff.). It offers two points of interest:

(i) The text generally conforms to that of the LXX; even its one unique variant (i 1-2) stands closer to the LXX than to the more literally accurate version of Symmachus. So far as it goes, that is, 3522 looks like a version of the LXX; not an independent *targum*, and not a systematic revision of the sort Aquila and the rest would produce in the next century. Cf. D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* 196 ff.

(ii) The divine name (*κύριος* in normal manuscripts of the LXX) is written as the tetragrammaton, and in archaic Hebrew letters. Origen noted the practice (*Selecta in Psalmos* 2. 2, PG 12. 1104B) . . . *καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων Ἑβραίοις χαρακτηῆρι κείται τὸ ὄνομα, Ἑβραϊκοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιότατοις*. The other examples cover a wide range of dates and versions: H 285,<sup>1</sup> *XII Prophetæ* (Dead Sea, i AD); H 167, *Psalms* (Symmachus?) (Fayûm or Heracleopolite?, iii-iv AD); H 74 + 203 (+ 236?), *Kings and Psalms* (Aquila) (Cairo Geniza, v-vi AD). Other scribes avoided the difficulty by using normal Hebrew script: H 56,<sup>2</sup> *Genesis and Deuteronomy* (LXX) (Fayûm, i BC), where the tetragrammaton was written in blanks left for it (in H 13, *Genesis* (Oxyrhynchus, ii AD), blanks were left and eventually filled out in Greek). The scribe of 3522 himself wrote the Hebrew continuously and fluently (*yod* in the form Z; cf. H 5, of iii AD, where ZZ represents the whole tetragrammaton); but apparently without understanding, since the medial and final *he* have different shapes.<sup>3</sup>

Collated with the text of Rahlfs.

<sup>1</sup> H = J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (1976).

<sup>2</sup> See now Z. Aly, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint* (Bonn, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> Conversely, H 56 and H 74 confuse *waw* and *yod*.



	col. i		col. ii
1	κ]αι εθανμασαν οσα επ[ηγα	(42: 11)	
	γε]ν ο α[. . .] επ αυτον εδ[ωκε		
	δε] αυτω εκαστος αμναδα μι		. . . [
	αν] και τετραχμον χρυσου		σαν [
5	α]σημον ο δε ε[. . .] ευλογη	(42: 12)	. . . . [
	ε]εν τα εσχατα ιωβ η τα [εμ		
	π]ροσθεν ην δε τα κτ[ηνη		
	αυτου προβα]τα μυρια [τε		
	τρακιςχιλια] καμη[λοι		

Col. i. 1-2 και εθανμασαν επι πασιν ος επηγαγεν αυτω ο κυριος LXX: και παρεμυθησαντο περι πασης της κακίας Symmachus (Field, *Hexapla* ii 81). The Hebrew has 'they mourned and comforted him for all the evil which . . .': only Symmachus renders this accurately; LXX and 3522 have variations on the same paraphrase, LXX marginally more literal in that it translates 'all' explicitly. I owe these comments to Professor James Barr.

2 For the tetragrammaton here and in 5, see the photograph, Pl. I. The leftmost character is damaged at both places; but its lower part certainly had an open angle, like a backwards kappa, and so quite different from the other *he*. The characters fit their spaces well, except for a slight gap after δε in 5, and the cross-bar of Z in 5 joins that of the following epsilon; which all suggests that the scribe wrote them *currente calamo* and from left to right.

κύριος codd., except θεός S\*. Barr notes that the tetragrammaton corresponds to κύριος, 'elaha, which corresponds to θεός, appears in the Aramaic targum of Job from Qumran (J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumran* (1971) 86 f.).

2-3 εδ[ωκε | δε: εδωκεν δε BS: και εδωκαν AV†. If εδ[ωκεν stood here, the line would be longer than any of the others.

3-5 So LXX: αμνάδα μίαν και ενώπιον χρυσοῦν ἐν Aquila, Theodotion: ὅς μὲν νόμισμα ἐν, ὃς δὲ ἐπίρρινον ἐν χρυσοῦν Symmachus.

4 τετραχμον: τετράδραχμον codd. The contracted form appears in inscriptions from the third century BC (Tod, *Num. Chron.* 20 (1960) 12 f.); in literature only at Philod. *de ira* 15. 28, Philo, *quod deteriori* 162 (i p. 295. 2 GW) (v. 1.), Diog. Laert. 7. 18 (v. 1.) (Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculaniensis* 293). Grammarians recognized it as a special term of coinage (Ammonius, *de diff.* 465).

4-5 So SA: χρυσοῦ και ἀσήμου B†.

6 τα εσχατα ιωβ η: so BS: τὸν Ιωβ τὰ ἐσχατα μάλλον ἢ AV: τὰ ἐσχατα Ιωβ ὑπὲρ τὰ Symm. Theodot.

Col. ii. I have not found a secure placing for these beginnings. In 2 the reading is certain, and we must start from there. In 1, the first letter apparently beta or kappa, more probably kappa; then small traces on disordered fibres. In 3, the third trace is a long flat top, as of tau; this joins a high arc (top left of ε, θ, ο, c, ω?).

(a) 42: 15 κερ[ας και ουχ ευρεθη  
σαν [κατα τας θυγατερας ιωβ (τας ιωβ θυγατερας)

Here 1 is suitable to the traces, and (allowing for a punctuation space) to the space. The difficulty is with 3. LXX continues τας θυγατερας ιωβ βελτιους αυτων (SB) or τας ιωβ θυγατερας και τους υιους αυτου (A V†); nothing recorded from the other versions. If this placing is right, we have to invent a new reading [κατα τας θυγατερας] | αυτη[ν] or [κ. τ. θ. ιωβ] | αυτη[ν] βελτιους.

(b) 42: 17c βαβ[λαβων δε γυναικα αραβις  
σαν [γεννα υιον ω ονομα ενων ην δε  
αυτη[ν]

Here 1 is long, and 2 very long, by the standards of col. i; and there is doubt whether beta really suits the first trace of 1.

(c) 42: 17d και [ουτοι οι βασιλεις οι βασιλευ  
σαν[τες εν εδωμ ης και  
αυτη[ν]

Here 1 is long; it could be shortened if the beginning were read βασι[λεις], or if (as the Press Reader suggests) the scribe omitted οι βασιλεις by parablepsy.

If (a), 6 lines are missing at the foot of col. i (column of 15 lines, written height c. 9 cm, total height c. 14 cm); if (b), c. 30 lines (column of 39 lines, w.h. 24 cm, t.h. 29 cm); if (c), c. 37 lines (column of 46 lines, w.h. 27.5 cm, t.h. 32.5 cm).

(Alternatives (b) and (c) assume that verses 16<sup>a</sup> and 17, which the original LXX had omitted, were present in the papyrus.)

If (a), this was a squat roll, of a type not uncommon in the early Roman period (E. G. Turner, *GMAW* no. 39, notes).

## 3523. GOSPEL OF JOHN 18: 36-19: 7

65 6B.32/M(3-5)a

5.6 × 15 cm

Second century

This tattered fragment of a leaf from a papyrus codex of the Gospel of John, to which Professor K. Aland has assigned the number P<sup>90</sup> in the official list of New Testament papyri, is primarily of interest because of its early date. The script is a well-formed small rounded capital, basically bilinear. The letters ε θ ο c are more or less circular in shape (except that the top of c is somewhat flattened, especially when linked to a following letter) and are all more or less of similar size, although, as in, e.g., the Egerton Gospel, ο and c are sometimes smaller than the norm. The cross-bars of ε and η are high, while β has a long flat base, extended on both sides of the letter. In general appearance the hand resembles that of the Egerton Gospel (British Library, Egerton Papyrus 2), but an even closer similarity is with the fragments of Genesis, IV 656, especially when comparison is made with both sides of the totality of those fragments rather than the small specimen reproduced in P. Oxy. IV, pl. II. The script of IV 656 was described by the original editors as of 'decidedly early appearance, having in some respects more affinity with types of the second century rather than of the third'. Nevertheless they assigned it, rather illogically, to the third century, though they were 'inclined to place it in the earlier rather than the later part of the century'. This judgement was questioned by H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel* (1935) 6-7, where reasons were put forward, in which Kenyon concurred, for redating IV 656 to the second century. Grenfell and Hunt's conclusions have been similarly criticized by E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 11, although Turner himself would prefer a date of 2nd-3rd cent. (*ibid.*, OT 9, 164). For a larger and more formalized example of the general type of hand cf. the Homeric papyrus edited by T. W. Mackay in *BASP* 10, 57-64 (with illustration), which Professor G. Cavallo would assign to the third quarter of the second century.

The script of 3523, in common with that of other examples of the period, is characterized by the addition of small serifs or curls at the ends of strokes, a feature which lasts into the third century (cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (1971)

25 and XLIII 3093, introd.). A diaeresis appears, though not regularly, over initial *ι* and *υ*. Only one example of a *nomen sacrum* is preserved,  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$  in l. 36, but doubtless this was written elsewhere. There are no traces of any abbreviations. There is a blank space of about two letters before a change of speaker in l. 6, and similar spaces may have occurred elsewhere. There is a possible trace of a filling-mark in l. 36. Letters at the beginning of ll. 5, 11, 21, and 24 project into the margin, indicating some form of punctuation in the preceding line, as in P<sup>4</sup>, P<sup>66</sup>, P<sup>67</sup> (cf. C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (1979) 17–18).

For convenience a restored text has been printed here, but it must be emphasized that it is necessarily hypothetical and no conclusions can be drawn from the restored portions, although in some instances the available space makes it more likely that the papyrus had one reading rather than another. To judge from this reconstruction, the height of the columns of writing would have been about 12.4 cm. on both sides, but there would seem to have been a noticeable difference in width, about 9.5 cm on the recto and only about 8.5 on the verso, possibly because on the verso the scribe was writing towards the fold in the middle of the bifolium. Cf. Turner, *Typology* 74, where it is noted that the same phenomenon occurs in the Rylands St. John, P<sup>52</sup>. The number of letters in the line varies from 20 to 28, but is mostly remarkably regular at around 24 to 26. There is no trace of pagination, but this may have been in the centre of the upper margin (as in the Egerton Gospel) and consequently lost.

No conclusions can be reached about the make-up of the codex, except that as horizontal fibres precede vertical fibres in what was presumably the latter half of the codex, it could have been a single-quire codex. The size of the page was probably about 12 cm in breadth and 16 cm in height, not very different from the Rylands fragment, the page of which was calculated to be about 14 cm in breadth and 16.3 cm in height. On these figures the Rylands codex would fall into Turner's Group 9 (op. cit. 21), while 3523 would be classified as Group 9 Aberrant 1 (op. cit. 22). The pages of the Egerton Gospel would have had a width of about 13 cm, but their height is unknown.

Whether the present codex contained more than the Gospel of John is likewise uncertain. The text of the leaf as here printed contains almost exactly 500 syllables =  $33\frac{1}{3}$  *ετίχοι* of 15 syllables. The Gospel of John, in the text of Westcott and Hort, making allowance for *nomina sacra* (and omitting the *pericope de adultera*) contains an estimated 2029 *ετίχοι* of 15 syllables (J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry* (1893) 51), and the complete Gospel would thus have contained about 60 leaves or 120 pages. The text of all four Gospels, on the same basis, contains 8898 *ετίχοι*, and if written in the same format as 3523 would have occupied 267 leaves or 534 pages, very similar to the figures calculated from the Rylands fragment (288 leaves or 576 pages). From what we know of second-century codices it seems very unlikely that either of these codices would have contained all four Gospels, although a combination of two, like the Bodmer Luke and John (P<sup>75</sup>) cannot be ruled out.

Professor Aland (*Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (1967) 99–103) has discussed the remarkable preponderance of manuscripts of John among the earliest Christian papyri, and has suggested that since this Gospel was known to be a favourite in Gnostic circles, the phenomenon may be held to support the contention of Walter Bauer that in the second century the Egyptian church was dominated by Gnosticism, and that the paucity of accounts of its early history is due to the fact that this was suppressed as discreditable. Bauer's hypothesis has, however, been recently challenged by C. H. Roberts, op. cit. 49–73, who has pointed out that there is a notable absence of Gnostic texts from Egypt before the fourth century and that reasons for the obscurity surrounding the early history of the Egyptian church must be sought elsewhere. In any case, 3523 makes a modest contribution to Roberts's thesis (op. cit. 4–5) that the survival of so many early Christian papyri from provincial Egypt refutes the supposition that at this period Christianity was virtually confined to Alexandria.

	Recto	
→	[βας]ιλεια η εμ[η οι υπηρεται οι εμοι]	18: 36
	[ηγ]ωνιζοντο α[ν ινα μη παραδοθω]	
	τοις ιου[δ]αιοις [νυν δε η βασιλεια η]	
	εμη ουκ [ε]στιν [εντευθεν ειπεν]	37
5	ουν αυτω [ο π]ε[ιλατος ουκουν βασι-]	
	λευς συ ει απ[εκριθη ο ῑc συ λεγεις]	
	οτι βασιλευς [ειμι εγω εις τουτο]	
	γεγεννη[μαι και εις τουτο εληλυ-]	
	θα εις τ[ον κοσμον ινα μαρτυρη-]	
10	ζω τη αλ[ηθεια πας ο ων εκ της]	
	αλ[η]θει[ας ακουει μου της φωνης]	
	λεγει αυτω ο π[ειλατος τι εστιν]	38
	αληθεια και το[υτο ειπων παλι]	
	εξηλθεν προς τ[ους ιουδαιους]	
15	[κ]αι λεγει αυτοις [εγω ουδεμιαν]	
	[ευ]ρισκω εν αυ[τω αιτιαν εστιν]	39
	[δε] συνηθ[ει]α υμε[ιν ινα ενα απο-]	
	[λυ]σω υμειν [εν τω πασχα βουλε-]	
	σθε ουν ινα [απολυσω υμειν τον]	
20	βασιλεα τ[ων ιουδαιων εκραυ-]	40
	ασαν ονν π[. . . . . λεγοντες μη]	

την[το]ν αλ[λα τον βαρβαβαν ην]  
δε ο βαρβαβ[α]ς ληστης τοτε ουν] 19: 1  
λαβων ο πειλ[ατος τον ω̄ εμα-]

## Verso

↓ 25 [στιγωσεν και οι στ]ρατιωται π[λε-] 2  
[ξαντες στεφανο]ν εξ ακανθω[ν]  
[επεθηκαν αυτ]ου τη [κε]φαλη και  
[ιματιον πορφυρ]ου[ν] περιεβα-  
[λον αυτον και ηρ]χ[ο]ντο προς αυ- 3  
30 [τον και ελεγον] χαιρε ο βασιλευ[ς]  
[των ιουδαιων] και εδ[ι]δοσαν αυ-  
[τω ραπισματα] εξ[η]θεν παλιw 4  
[ο πειλατος και λεγει] αυτοις ιδε  
[αγω υμειw αυτον εξ]ω ινα [γ]νω-  
35 [τε οτι αιτιαν ε]γ αυ[τω] ουχ ευρισ-  
[κω εξηλθεν ο]νν ο ιϛ εξω φοϝ 5  
\*[ρωw τον ακαν]θιων στεφανον  
[και το πορφυρ]ουν ιματιον κ[αι]  
[λεγει αυτοις ι]δου ο ανθρωπο[ς]  
40 [οτε ουν ειδον α]ντον ο[ι] αρχιερε[ς]  
[και οι υπηρεται] εκραζαν λ[εγον-]  
[τες σταυρωσον α]ν[τον] λεγε[ι αυ-]  
[τοις ο πειλατος λαβ]ετ[ε] υμεις  
[αυτον και σταυρωσ]ατ[ε] εγω γαρ  
45 [ουχ ευρισκω εν αυτ]ω αιτιαν  
[απεκριθησαν οι ιουδ]αιοι ημεις 7  
[νομον εχομεν κα]ι κατα τον

A brief collation is appended, covering only the principal Greek manuscripts and the Old Latin and Coptic versions. The Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac are both defective at this point.

Information on the Greek manuscripts is mainly based on Nestlé-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26. Auflage, 4. revidierter Druck, 1981, with some additions from Tischendorf. The Old Latin is taken from A. Jülicher and K. Aland, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*. IV. *Johannes-Evangelium* (1963). The Coptic is based on the collations against Nestlé-Aland in R. Kasser, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean et les versions coptes de la Bible* (Paris, 1966).

The symbols for the Greek manuscripts are those commonly in use;  $\mathfrak{M}$  represents Nestlé-Aland's

'Majority Text' (*Mehrheitstext*), which in these verses approximates very closely to the Textus Receptus. It may be added here that although P<sup>66</sup> is extant for these verses, P<sup>75</sup> is not; P<sup>52</sup> overlaps only for the verso of that fragment.

For the Old Latin the symbol Lvt is used, followed by the relevant manuscripts in brackets.

In the Coptic, C<sup>s</sup> and C<sup>b</sup> stand for the Sahidic and Bohairic versions, C<sup>pb</sup> for the 4th-cent. papyrus codex of John in so-called 'Proto-Bohairic' (P. Bodmer III), and C<sup>a2</sup> the 4th-cent. papyrus codex of John in Sub-Akhmimic found at Qau el Kebir and published by Sir Herbert Thompson.

As might be expected, 3523 is much too fragmentary for any textual affiliations to be discerned. It is not noticeably close to P<sup>66</sup> nor to the Coptic, nor does it support  $\mathfrak{N}$  or B in singular or near-singular readings. So far as can be seen 3523 itself had no singular readings with the exception of  $\epsilon\lambda$  in l. 6.

Recto 1 βασιλεια η εμη: so most authorities, probably including P<sup>66</sup>, which though defective here has βασιλεια η εμη in the other two passages; εμη βασιλεια  $\mathfrak{N}$  D<sup>supp</sup>N $\Theta$  0250. 124.

οι υπηρεται: και οι υπηρεται  $\mathfrak{N}$ .

1-2 ηγωνιζοντο αν: so  $\mathfrak{N}$  B<sup>2</sup>LW $\Psi$  0109 f<sup>13</sup> l. 33. αν after υπηρεται in AD<sup>supp</sup> $\Theta$  054. 0250 Lvt (q)  $\mathfrak{M}$ . B\* omits αν altogether, and Nestlé-Aland brackets it as of doubtful authenticity. P<sup>66</sup> perhaps also omitted.

2 ηγωνιζοντο: + υπερ εμου C<sup>bo</sup> C<sup>pb</sup>.

3-4 βασιλεια η εμη: εμη βασιλεια  $\mathfrak{N}$ \*.

4 εντευθεν: εκ του κοσμου τουτου C<sup>bo</sup> C<sup>pb</sup>.

5 πειλατος: the same spelling occurs in l. 24 and no doubt elsewhere. This spelling is found in P<sup>66</sup>AB\* D<sup>supp</sup>, against πιλατος of all others. In P<sup>52</sup> the spelling comes in a lacuna.

6 ευ ει: ει ευ all others. P<sup>66</sup> is defective here.

απεκριθη: P<sup>66</sup> has the singular reading απεκριθη ιϛ και ειπεν.

7 βασιλευς: om. C<sup>pb</sup>.

εγω semel: so  $\mathfrak{N}$ BD<sup>supp</sup>LY 1. 13. 69. 124 Lvt (a aur c ff<sup>2</sup> r<sup>1</sup>). εγω εγω A $\Theta$ AIT 0109. 0250 Lvt(b f j q)  $\mathfrak{M}$ . Lvt(e) omits altogether. P<sup>66</sup> is defective. It seems virtually certain that the papyrus had εγω once only, since even so the line contains 26 letters.

8 εις τουτο: P<sup>52</sup> apparently omits.

9 κοσμον: + τουτον Lvt(a aur b c ff<sup>2</sup> j r<sup>1</sup>).

10 τη αληθεια: περι της αληθειας  $\mathfrak{N}$ \*.

εκ: om.  $\mathfrak{N}$ \*. The papyrus probably had εκ, since the line would be very short without it.

10-11 εκ της αληθειας: εν τη αληθεια C<sup>pb</sup>.

12 λεγει: P<sup>66</sup> alone adds ουν.

ο: om. P<sup>66</sup> 28\*.

τι: τις  $\mathfrak{N}$ \*.

13 αληθεια: η αληθεια 1.

παλιw: om. C<sup>pb</sup>.

16 ευρισκω εν αυτω αιτιαν. So BL 0109 Lvt(aur b c e ff<sup>2</sup>); ημρον εν αυτω αιτιαν Lvt(r<sup>1</sup>); αιτιαν ευρισκω εν αυτω  $\mathfrak{N}$ AW $\Theta$ AIT $\Psi$  f<sup>13</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$  Lvt(q); αιτιαν εν αυτω ευρισκω D<sup>supp</sup>; ευρισκω αιτιαν εν αυτω P<sup>66</sup>vid Lvt(f); εν αυτω ευρισκω αιτιαν Lvt(a).

17 υμειw: om. Lvt(aur e).

17-18 απολυω υμειw: so P<sup>66</sup> $\mathfrak{N}$ BD<sup>supp</sup>KLWAIT 0109\*. f<sup>1</sup> 33. 565; υμιν απολυω AEGHMSY $\Theta$ A 054. f<sup>13</sup>  $\mathfrak{M}$ ; απολυω ianum  $\Psi$  0250 Lvt(b c ff<sup>2</sup> j).

18 εν τω παρχα: om. Lvt(a).

εν: om. B 0109\*.

19 ινα: so  $\mathfrak{N}$ KUYIT; om. P<sup>60</sup> P<sup>66</sup>vid ABD<sup>supp</sup>L etc. Textus Receptus and Nestlé-Aland.

απολυω υμειw: υμειw απολυω equally possible.

20-1 acan at the beginning of l. 21 implies that the papyrus had the spelling εκρανασαν for εκρανασαν with LM, since otherwise the word would have been divided εκραν-γασαν.

21 π[ could be either παλιw, with P<sup>60</sup> $\mathfrak{N}$ BLW 0109, or παντες, with KN $\Psi$  f<sup>1</sup> 13 28. 33. 565. 700 Lvt(a aur b c e ff<sup>2</sup> j q r<sup>1</sup>) C<sup>s</sup>C<sup>b</sup>C<sup>pb</sup>; in any case there is not room for παλιw παντες, the reading of P<sup>66</sup>vid A $\Theta$  054. 0250  $\mathfrak{M}$  Lvt(f), or παντες παλιw (D<sup>supp</sup>). 1241 C<sup>a2</sup> have neither.

λεγοντες: om. P<sup>66</sup>\* Lvt(b c e ff<sup>2</sup> j r<sup>1</sup>) C<sup>a2</sup>.

23 ο: om. P<sup>66</sup>\*.

24 λαβων ο πιλατος τον ιω: so NW Lvt(a); ο πιλατος λαβων τον ιω LX 33; ελαβεν ο πιλατος τον ιω και ABD<sup>supp</sup> Θ f<sup>1</sup> f<sup>13</sup> 9R; ο πιλατος ελαβεν τον ιω και P<sup>66vid</sup> Ψ 054.

Verso 25 εμαστιγωσεν: + αυτον 235 Lvt(a c e j r<sup>1</sup>).

26 στεφανον εξ ακανθων: εξ ακανθων στεφανον P<sup>66</sup>.

27 αυτου τη κεφαλη: αυτου επι την κεφαλην AUII 489; επι την κεφαλην αυτου G 250 Lvt(c q r<sup>1</sup>).

28 ματιον πορφυρου: πορφυρου ματιον P<sup>66</sup>  
πορφυρου: πορφυρον P<sup>66</sup>.

29-30 και ηρχοντο προς αυτον: so P<sup>66vid</sup>P<sup>66</sup> NBLNUWΘ f<sup>13</sup> 33. 565. 700. Lvt(a aur b c e ff<sup>2</sup> r<sup>1</sup>); om. AD<sup>supp</sup>Ψ 054 f<sup>1</sup> 9R Lvt(f q).

30 και ελεγον: λεγοντες Lvt(a aur c) C<sup>s</sup> C<sup>b</sup>; λεγοντες αυτω C<sup>pb</sup>.

ο βασιλευς: βασιλευ P<sup>66</sup> N.

31 εδιδουσαν: so P<sup>66</sup> NBL 1. 22 etc.; εδιδου AD<sup>supp</sup>ΓΔΑΠ Textus Receptus.

32 εξηλθεν ιαντιν: so N D<sup>supp</sup>ΓP 565 Lvt(a aur c e f q); the variant και εξηλθεν (P<sup>66vid</sup>ABKLP 33) cannot be entirely ruled out, but considerations of space make it unlikely. In any case the papyrus did not have εξηλθεν ουν, with P<sup>66c</sup> EGHMSUWYΔΘΑΨ 054. 0250 f<sup>13</sup> 9R Lvt(b ff<sup>2</sup>).

παλιν: om. 258\*. 346. 477 Lvt(b ff<sup>2</sup>).

33 ο πιλατος: so 28 Lvt(c) C<sup>a2</sup> C<sup>pb</sup> C<sup>b</sup>. There does not seem to be room for either εξω ο πιλατος, with P<sup>66vid</sup>ABD<sup>supp</sup>ΓΔΘΑΠΨ f<sup>1</sup> 9R or ο πιλατος εξω, with N LW f<sup>13</sup> Lvt(a aur b c f ff<sup>2</sup> q).

και λεγει: λεγων C<sup>a2</sup>.

35-6 αιτιαν εν αυτω ουχ ευρισκω: so P<sup>66vid</sup> 13. 69. 124 Lvt(r<sup>1</sup>); αιτιαν ουχ ευρισκω N\*W; ουδεμιαν αιτιαν ευρισκω εν αυτω nearly all other authorities, but with variations in word-order.

36 ο: om. B. This line, as printed, is exceptionally short (20 letters only), but it is difficult to see what longer reading the papyrus could have had; possibly a space larger than usual was left before εξηλθεν.

εξω: τοτε C<sup>b</sup>; om. 235 Lvt(aur).

36-7 φορων: εχων P<sup>66</sup> 1. 565 Lvt(a b c e f ff<sup>2</sup> j q r<sup>1</sup>).

38 το: om. N.

38-9 και λεγει αυτοις ιδου ο ανθρωπος: om. P<sup>66</sup> Lvt(a e ff<sup>2</sup> r<sup>1</sup>) C<sup>a2</sup>.

39 λεγει: + ο πιλατος C<sup>b</sup>; ειπε Lvt(b c f).

ιδου: so P<sup>66</sup> NBLXYII<sup>2</sup> 1. 33; ιδε most others, inc. AD<sup>supp</sup>ΓΔΑΠ<sup>1</sup> etc.

ο: om. B.

40-1 οι αρχιερεις και οι υπηρεται: οι υπηρεται και οι αρχιερεις C<sup>a2</sup>.

εκραζαν: read εκραξαν, with N\*: εκραυασαν all other MSS.

41-2 λεγοντες: so P<sup>66vid</sup> and most authorities; om. NY 054 Lvt(a b e ff<sup>2</sup>).

42 σταυρωσων semel: so P<sup>66c</sup> 054<sup>c</sup> 1010 Lvt(a e r<sup>1</sup>); σταυρωσων σταυρωσων all others, inc. P<sup>66c</sup>. There is certainly not space in the papyrus for the double σταυρωσων, but with the single σταυρωσων the line is only 19 letters long. Probably therefore the papyrus added αυτον after σταυρωσων, with P<sup>66vid</sup>ND<sup>supp</sup>Θ 054 f<sup>13</sup> 9R Lvt(a b f ff<sup>2</sup> j q).

42-3 αυτοις: om. P<sup>66</sup>.

43-4 υμεις αυτον: so P<sup>66</sup> D<sup>supp</sup>LWYΨ 054 Lvt(c q r<sup>1</sup>); αυτον υμεις others including Textus Receptus.

44 και: om. P<sup>66</sup>.

46 απεκριθησαν: so P<sup>66</sup> N W f<sup>1</sup> 565 Lvt(a b c e f ff<sup>2</sup>) C<sup>a2</sup> C<sup>pb</sup>. απεκριθησαν αυτω most others, including P<sup>66vid</sup> ABD<sup>supp</sup>L etc. Textus Receptus.

### 3524. PROTEVANGELIUM OF JAMES 25. 1

C 405 (4B5/11)

17.1 × 15.1 cm

Sixth century

The papyrus contains the penultimate verse and end title of the *Proteuangelium Iacobi*. This work on the life of the Virgin Mary was composed after AD 150 and exists in a short version (P. Bodmer V) and longer versions surviving in medieval codices. The

considerable divergence between manuscripts in the order and form of words and phrases means that the articulated version must be considered only *exempli gratia*.

Verse 25. 2 is omitted in this papyrus. The traces of the right hand of the end title make it certain that *Γέννησις Μαρίας*, the title in P. Bodmer V (*Genesic Pap.*), was present, but neither confirm nor reject the possibility that *Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰακώβ* or one of the other known titles was present in ll. 13 ff.

The following papyri of the *Proteuangelium Iacobi* are listed by J. Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976).

- 599 P. Bodmer V. Codex, s. iv. Panopolis? Text complete but abbreviated = Z. Part of a composite codex. For make up see E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977) 79-80.
- 600 PSI I 6. Five consecutive pages of a papyrus codex, s. iv. Hermopolis Magna. Contains 13. 1-23. 3.
- 601 P. Grenf. I 8. Eight damaged pages forming a quire of a vellum codex, s. v-vi. Fayûm. Contains 7. 2-10. 1.
- 602 Ineditum. Formerly in Cairo Museum. Damaged page of papyrus codex, beginning of s. iv. Contains 3. 3-4. 4. To be edited from a photograph by J. Van Haelst.

In addition there exists

P. Ashmoleana inv. 9 (Box A, 1). Papyrus codex leaf, s. v, excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie. Contains ↓ 13. 3-14. 2 and → 15. 2-4. To be published by Professor Jean Bingen in a forthcoming volume of *Papyrologica Bruxellensia*.

The papyrus is written along the horizontal fibres only. The back is blank, but this is almost certainly the final page of a codex rather than part of a roll, and hence the right hand opening. I have not been able to identify any holes for binder's cords.

The top margin is 1.8 cm. 1.5 cm survives of the left margin and apparently 4 cm of the right margin. The format lies in the range of Professor Turner's Group 5 (18 cm × 30 cm), *Typology*, 16-18.

If the supplements in ll. 1-8 are correct, the average number of letters per line is 18.6. Using Professor Turner's rule of thumb that the lower margins are to the upper margins in a proportion of 3:2 (ibid. 25), the lower margin would be c. 2.7 cm. The combined height of top and bottom margins would be 4.5 cm. The top eight lines of text occupy 6.1 cm in height, so one line + interlinear space = 0.76 cm. Thus if there are 29 lines per column, the height of the written area is c. 22.1 cm and the height of the page 26.6 cm. If there are 36 lines, they will be 27.5 and 32 cm respectively. Any format containing between 29 and 36 lines per column lies within the range of Professor Turner's Group 5 and there is no way of determining between them.

The text is written in a Coptic Uncial hand in a black metallic ink now faded to brown. J. Irigoin has shown in 'L'Onciale grecque du type copte', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1959) 29-51, that all dates attributed for this

script depend on comparison with two Paschal letters: P. Grenf. II 112 (AD 672?)<sup>1</sup> and P. Berol. P. 10677 (AD 713? or AD 724?). The rounded letters are circular rather than oval, which Irigoin (op. cit. 46) considers a sign of early date. Iota is serifed at the top, and at the foot tails to the right. Theta in l. 3 is damaged, so it is impossible to tell if the cross-bar was elongated. The closest parallel for the hand is P. Amh. II 190, *Shepherd of Hermas*, which Grenfell and Hunt and E. G. Turner date to the sixth century AD (*Typology*, Table 16, item 525); G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* 115 dates it to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century AD.

The only *nomen sacrum* surviving is ἰλημ = Ἱεροσαλήμ, but the articulated version assumes its presence in l. 6, and θν = θεόν in l. 7. Contraction is certainly present in τή(ν) at the end of l. 7 and possibly in l. 8. There are no punctuation marks or breathings. A diplē obelismenē marking a new verse is present above ἐγώ in l. 1, where the epsilon is also enlarged and in ekthesis.

The end title is decorated by bold dots in ll. 9–10 and by zeta-shaped adornments in ll. 12–14.

The following editions have been consulted:

*Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* ed. Ioannes Carolus Thilo (Leipzig, 1832) i 159–273.

*Evangelia Apocrypha* ed. Constantinus de Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1876) 1–50.

*Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins* ed. Émile Amann (Paris, 1910).

*Papyrus Bodmer V. Nativité de Marie* ed. M. Testuz (Coligny (Geneva), 1958).

Émile de Strycker, S.J., *La Forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques — Recherches sur le Papyrus Bodmer 5 avec une édition critique du texte grec*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 33 (Brussels, 1961).

A. S. Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca—The Protevangelium Iacobi and Transitus Mariae*. *Studia Sinaitica* XI (London, 1902).

H. R. Smid, *Protevangelium Iacobi—A Commentary* (Diss. Groningen-Assen, 1965).

Émile de Strycker, S.J., 'De Griekse Handschriften van het Protevangelie van Jacobus', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*, Kl. der Letteren xxx (1968) nr. 1. (German version in D. Harlfinger: *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt, 1980) 577–612.)

E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha* (transl. R. McL. Wilson) (London, 1963) i 370–88.

The apparatus criticus is drawn primarily from de Strycker, supplemented from Tischendorf.

<sup>1</sup> But G. Cavallo, *Jahrb. d. österreich. Byzantinistik* 24 (1975) 45–5, argues convincingly that P. Grenf. II 112 should be redated to AD 577.

	Top		Top	
	̄	Ἐγωδειακωβο[.]εγραφα		ἐγὼ δὲ Ἱάκωβο[ς] ἔγραφα 25. 1
		τηνιστοριανταυτηνεν		τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἐν
		ἰλημθορομβουγενομε[ ]		Ἱεροσαλήμ, θορόμβου γενομέ-
		]λευτηρενηρω		[νου ὅτε ἐτε]λεύτηρεν ὁ Ἡρώ-
5		[.....]ο.κα[.]παυσειν		[δης ἕως] οὗ κα[τέ]παυσειν
		[.....]σε[ ]		[ὁ θόρμβος] ἐ[ν] Ἱεροσαλήμ, δοξά-
		[.....]...[.]τῆ		[ζων τὸν θεὸν τὸν δόν]τα [μο]ι τή(ν)
		[.....]χραψ[.]...		[σοφίαν τοῦ] χράψαι τή(ν)
10		[ ] . . . ]		[ἱστορίαν ] . . . ]
		] . . . ]		] . . . ]
		]ᾱς } }		[Γένεσις Μαρ]ῖᾱς } }
		]ζ̄ }		]ζ̄ }
15		] }		] }
		] }		] }

1 Ἐγωδε Pap. ACF<sup>a</sup>LMOPPos...N Syr; ἐγὼ οὖν BEH εγραφα Pap. CDF<sup>a</sup>N Syr<sup>ab</sup> Arm<sup>b</sup> Lat<sup>b</sup>; ο γραφας Z c<sup>p</sup> Ti; ὁ συγγραφάμενος BO..CF<sup>a</sup>N.

1–2 ἔγραφα / ὁ τὴν θαυμαστὴν ταύτην ἱστορίαν H.

3 ἰλημ Pap. c<sup>p</sup> Ti; ιεροσολυμοις ZF<sup>a</sup>P Post θορομβου add. δὲ EF<sup>a</sup>R; non habent Pap. Z c<sup>p</sup> Ti Syr<sup>ab</sup> Arm<sup>b</sup>. γενομε[ ]: Pap. After mu-epsilon there is room for one letter, but the surface is stripped. The rules of word division would suggest that nothing further was written at the line-end (see W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* 10–18), but perhaps νου was written in some form of contraction. However, no trace of any supralinear bar remains. γενομένου ABF<sup>b</sup>GHLMNOP: γεναμεινου Z.

3–4 γενομέ[ν]ου [νου ὅτε ἐτε]λεύτηρεν supplēvi exempli gratia. The supplement is probably 3 letters too long for the space in l. 4 unless νου was written at the end of l. 3.

4 οτε Z c<sup>p</sup> Ti Syr<sup>ab</sup> Arm<sup>b</sup>; οτι BHL; ἕως οὐ F<sup>b</sup>; ἕως οτε N.

4–5 ο ηρω/[δης Pap. GR; ετελευτηρεν ηρωδης, συνεστelle(ν) εαυτον εν τη ερημω εως Z; Ἡρώδης, συνεστella εμαυτον εν τη ἐρήμω ἕως Ti; ἕως οὐ ἐτελ. Ἡρώδ. post ἐρήμω, coniungens verbis καὶ κατεπαύθη etc., F<sup>a</sup>; ὅτε ἀπέστειλεν Ἡρώδης στρατιώτας ἀποκτείνει τὰ βρέφη ἐν Βηθλεέμ P.

Pap. has omitted a line of the form συνεστella εμαυτον οτ συνεστelle(ν) εαυτον εν τη ερημω.

5 ἕως οὐ F<sup>a</sup>LMOR; εως Z c<sup>p</sup> Ti; ἄχρις οὐ P.

κα[τέ]παυσειν Pap. (BF<sup>b</sup>HNOP Ti); καταπαύσατο A; καταπαύσεται E; παυσεται Z; κατεπαύθη F<sup>a</sup>GLM; μετεπαύθη R.

6 Below ]παυσειν in l. 5 the surface of the papyrus is present, but the ink is washed away. The supplement assumes ἰλημ as in l. 3. εν ἰλημ c<sup>p</sup> Ti (Arm<sup>b</sup>) Sah<sup>b</sup>; ιεροσαλημ Z; ἐν ιεροσολύμοις F<sup>a</sup>.

6–7 [δοξά/ζων τὸν θεὸν τὸν δόν]τα supplēvi exempli gratia. The supplement assumes θν. δοξάζων BDF<sup>b</sup>N(O) Ti (Lat<sup>b</sup>): δοξαα δε ZG; δοξάζω δὲ (A)EHM(P)R Pos Syr<sup>ab</sup> Sah<sup>b</sup>; καὶ ἐδόξαα C Arm<sup>b</sup> (om. καὶ) θν DF<sup>a</sup>LOPR Pos Syr<sup>b</sup>; δεσπότην θν CF<sup>b</sup>HN Ti; δεσπότην χν DG Arm<sup>b</sup>; δεσπότην ZAEM Syr<sup>a</sup> Sah<sup>b</sup>.

7-8 την σοφίαν ZEM; σοφίαν F<sup>b</sup>N; sapientiam Syr<sup>ab</sup>; hanc sapientiam Sah<sup>b</sup>; τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν BLO (om. τὴν<sup>2</sup>) R Ti Arm<sup>b</sup> (ut vid.); τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν GH (Lat<sup>b</sup>: sapientiam et intellectum) Post haec desinunt Syr<sup>ab</sup> Arm<sup>b</sup> Sah<sup>b</sup>.

8-9 After γραφ. . two traces followed by two high traces τῆ is possible at the line end, but the final two traces may be dots used as space fillers as in ll. 9-10. Hence it may not be necessary to supply ἱστορίαν in l. 9.

9-10 την ἱστορίαν ταυτην Z Ti. If ἱστορίαν is supplied, there is no space for ταυτην in Pap. before the space-filling dots.

10 και εσται η χαρις μετα παντων των φοβουμενων τον κν. Αμην Z; ἔσται δὲ ἡ χάρις μετὰ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, φῆ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν Ti plerique; om. Pap.

12 Γενεσις Μαρίας / Αποκαλυψις / Ιακωβ. / ειρηνη τω γραψαντι και τω / αναγνωσκοντι Z; Γέννησις Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ὑπερενδόξου μητρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ E; διήγησις καὶ ἱστορία πῶς ἐγενήθη ἡ ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος εἰς ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν C; Ἱστορία Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου D; etcetera apud Tischendorf 1-2.

## 3525. GOSPEL OF MARY

23 3B.12/E(1)a

11.5 × 12.0 cm

Third century

A fragment broken on all sides, written in a practised cursive of the third century; only the content and the *nomen sacrum* (12) show it to be more than an ordinary document. No lectional signs, except diastole; in 12 a blank filled by the extended top of the letter before serves as punctuation. The back is blank.

A partial text of the *Gospel of Mary* survives in Coptic: W. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus, Berlinensis 8502* (Texte u. Untersuchungen 60, 1955) 66 ff. (with German translation). This codex dates from the fifth century. We now have two fragments of a Greek version or versions, both copied in the third century. 3525 corresponds to pages 9. 1-10. 14 of the Coptic; P. Ryl. III 463 (Van Haelst 1065) to pages 17. 5-21 (front) and 18. 5-19. 5 (back). P. Ryl. also came (by purchase) from Oxyrhynchus; but not from the same manuscript.

P. Berol. continues with the *Apocryphon of John* and the *Wisdom of Jesus Christ*. A Greek version of *Wisdom* also circulated at Oxyrhynchus: VIII 1081 (Van Haelst 1064), early fourth century.

The script, and perhaps the roll-form, shows this to be an amateur copy. Like the more professional P. Ryl. 463, it uses only one *nomen sacrum*, *ανωσ* (σωτηρ and κυριε uncontracted); the documentary tendency is clear in the suspensions (12, 19).

The Greek version corresponds pretty exactly to the Coptic, allowing for differences of idiom. But in 16-18 the same material is distributed differently between sentences; and in several places where the Coptic uses a Greek word, the Greek uses a different one (9, 11, 13).

fr. 1

. . . . .  
]. [  
]. [  
] ουδεν . . . [  
] . . . . . [  
τ]αυτα ειπων α . ξ[

5

δακρυοντες πολλα και] λεγοντες πως π[ορευομεθα προς τα εθνη  
κηρυσσοντες το ενα]γγελιον της βα[σιλειας του υιου του ανου ει  
γαρ μηδ εκεινου εφεισα]ντο πως ημων αφ[εξονται τοτε  
αναστασα Μαριαμμη] αυτους κατεφιλησε [παντας λεγονσα τοις αδελφοις  
10 μη δακρυετε μη λυπ]εισθε μηδε δισταζει η [χαρις γαρ αυτου εσται  
μ]εθ υμων σκεπουσα υμας μαλλον ευ[ . ] χαρι[στωμεν τη μεγαλει  
οτ]ητι αυτ[ο]στι σνηρητηκεν ημας και ανου[ς] πεποιηκεν ουτω λεγουσα  
Μαρια]μμη μετεστρεψεν τον νουν αυτων ε[π αγαθον και ηρξαν συν  
ζη]τ[ει]ν περι των αποφθεγματων του σωτηρ[ο]ς ειπεν Πιτρος  
15 προ]ς Μαριαμμην αδελφη οίδαμεν οτι πολλα[α αγαπα υπο του  
σωτ]ηρος ως ουκ αλλη γυνη ειπον ουν ημειν . [  
λογο]υς του σωτηρος ους ημεις ουκ ηκουσαμεν υπε[λαβε Μαριαμμη λεγου  
σα οσα] υμας λανθανει και απομνημονευω απα[γγελω υμιν και ηρχεν αυ  
τοις του]των των λογ[ο]ν εμ[οι] ποτε εν οραματι ιδ[ουση τον κυριον και  
20 ειπουση] κυριε σημερον . [ . . . . ] . . . . . βε . . . . [  
] . . . [  
] . . . . . ] . [  
]. . . . .

fr. 2

. . . . .  
] κλε . [  
] . . [  
. . . . .

fr. 1. The Coptic text provides the basis for reconstructing the Greek. The reconstruction printed assumes (i) that l. 11 lacks only one letter at its beginning; (ii) that the lines had approximately 50 letters. (i) is simply a convenient assumption, since no beginnings or ends survive; (ii) rests on 11-15, where the supplements look relatively straightforward.

1-2 largely stripped.

3 Coptic 'I have not laid down any rule (ϩοροϩ) except that which I have established for you, and (οϩϩε) I have not given a law (νομοϩ) in the manner of the law-giver (νομοθετηϩ), lest (αηηποτε) they should restrict you by it. When he had said these things, he went . . . ' The end of this comes in 5; e.g. μηποτε κρατηθε δι αυτον τ]αυτα ειπων κτλ. The earlier part implies Greek of this sort: ουδενα ορον εξεθηκα παρα τουτον ον υμιν διαταξα ουδε νομον εδωκα ωσπερ ο νομοθετηϩ. In 3 ουδενα [ο]ρο[ν] would suit the expected distribution of lines; but α is very unlikely, and [ο] cramped. ουδε νομο[ν] makes a better reading; in that case, other assumptions must be made about the text. I can make nothing of the damaged and altered letters in 4.

5 α. ξ[ι]: αυξ[ι], αεξ[ι]? The Coptic (αϩβωκ) suggests {α}εξ[ι]ηλθεν; then οι δε ελυπηθησαν (ητοοϩ ϩε ηεϩβλγηνει).

8 Coptic 'If they did not spare even him, how are they going to spare us?' The verb ϩ ϩο is normally equivalent to φειδεσθαι (Crum 317). After ημων, it would be possible to read φ[ει]δονται, by assuming that the upper stroke of what looks like the nose of a triangular alpha in fact belongs to the line above (iota in βα[ε]ι[ι]); against this, descenders do not elsewhere descend so far. If αφ[ε]ζονται, we have to reckon with an unusual (triangular) alpha; it could be expanded τας χειραϩ (LXX Job 13: 21), which conveniently fills up the line. (But the same could be achieved by writing ποτε αναστασα / Μαριαμμη απαντα] αυτουϩ κατεφιλησε [λεγουσα κτλ.)

9 κατεφιλησε: Coptic ϩεπαϩε.

10 δισταζεσται rather than -ται, which would be the expected phonetic spelling of -τε.

11 ϩκεπουσα: Coptic ϩκεπαϩε.

μαλλον: Coptic ααλλον ϩε.

ευχαρι[στω]μεν: Coptic ϩμοϩ, normally ευλογειν or the like (Crum 335b).

12 ϩην: doubtfully read; but not κατ-, the expected equivalent of Coptic ϩοητε (Crum 323b).

13 ηρξαν συν/ζη]τ[ει]ν: Coptic αϩβωρϩε[ϩοαι] ηρϩαϩη[η]αϩε. For the active form cf. P. Ryl. 463. 2; for συνζητειν as equivalent of ϩϩαπαϩε, ib. 20, Crum 646b.

14 αποφθεγματων: Coptic simply ηϩα[ϩ]ε, 'the words'.

15 Coptic ' . . . that the Saviour loves you beyond the other women'.

16 Coptic 'Say to us the words of the Saviour which you have in remembrance, which you know them, we do not, and (οϩϩε) we have not heard either.' Mary answered, she said "That which is hidden from you, I shall show it to you." The Greek has room for all this, but apparently in a different distribution. In 16 the final trace suggests a left-hand arc, omicron or the like; e.g. ο[ι]κουϩ γινωσκειϩ.

17 ηπε[ι]: represented only by tiny traces; απε[κ]ρινατο would do as well (Crum 502b).

19 f. Coptic 'I saw the Lord in a vision (ϩοροαα) and I said to him "Lord, I saw you yesterday in a vision (ϩοροαα)." He answered he said . . . ' The Greek might be reconstructed (a) (20) ειπουσ]η κυριε σ]ημερον ϩ[ε] ειδον] ηπελαβε λεγ[ων, or (b) (19) ειπουσ]η | [ειδον ϩε] κυριε σ]ημερον ε[ν] ορασει? ηπελαβε λεγ[ων. (b) looks less likely, since it leaves line 19 rather long; ε[ν] ορασει suggested, since οραματι seems to exceed the space. (a) suits the space, with the disadvantage of omitting εν οραματι. In both, the traces after σ]ημερον are too meagre to decide anything; and λεγ[ων] remains a difficult reading, even allowing for the fact that the letters have been partly overwritten.

### 3526. HERMAS, Mandates 5-6

48 5B.107/D(2-4)b

11 × 18 cm

Fourth century

A tattered page from the same codex as IX 1172 (P. Lond. Inv. 2067 = P. Lit. Lond. 224),<sup>1</sup> put together from one large fragment and six small ones; neither top nor bottom margin survives and in consequence neither does the pagination. The rapid, slanting hand with some cursive features, e.g. the exaggerated alphas and kappas and the pinpoint omicron, was assigned by Hunt to the fourth century. There are up to 25 lines to the page with up to 41 letters to the line on one side and 36 on the other. There

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mr T. C. Skeat for kindly confirming the identity of the two hands against the original of 1172 in the British Library.

are occasional rough breathings, but no punctuation; the commonest *nomina sacra* are found but not that for *ἄνθρωπος*. The scribe is careless and hasty to a degree; itacisms are frequent, there are occasional confusions, duplications, and omissions, sometimes corrected by the first hand. But the text he is copying is a sound one, and the papyrus is of interest since for this section of the text neither Sinaiticus nor the Michigan codex is available and, quotations apart, our sole source for the Greek is the unreliable Athos manuscript (A) of the fifteenth century. 3526 offers a number of improvements, e.g. at 11 and 36-7.

Collated with the text of Whittaker.

- ιλαρ]α αγαλ[λ]ι[ω]μενη (34.3) (5.3)  
 αμεριμνος ουσα δοξαζου]σα τον κν εν [πα]ν  
 τι καιρω μηδεν εν εαυτη ε]χουσα πικρον παρα  
 μενουσα δια παντοϩ πρ]αεια και ησυχιοϩ αυ  
 5 τη ουν η μακροθυμια κατοι]κει μετα των την πι  
 6 στω εν χοντων ολοκληρω]ν η δε οξυχολια πρω  
 τον μεν μωρα εστω]ν ελαφρα και αφρων  
 7 ειτα εκ της αφροσυν]ηϩ γεινεται πικρι]α ä ειτ'  
 ] εκ δ[ε] του θυμου οργη ειτ' εκ θυ  
 10 μου] μη[ν]ιϩ ειτ' η μηνιϩ αυτη εκ τοσοϩ  
 των κ]ακων συνεστραμμενη γεινεται α  
 11 μαρτι]α μεγ[α]λη και ανιατοϩ οταν γαρ παν  
 12 τα τα π]να εν ενι αγγιω κατοικη ουκετι το  
 13 πνα] το αγιον χ[ω]ρει εκεινο το αγγι]ο[[ε]]ν' αλλ'  
 14 υπερπλεο]γα[ζει] τρυ]φερον ον πνα] μη εχθ  
 15 συνθηθειαν με]τα π[ονηρο]ν πνϩ κατοικειν  
 ] . . . απ[ο]χω]ρει απο του ανθρω  
 16 που του τοιουτου] και ζητει [κ]ατοικειν μετ[α  
 17 πραοτητοϩ κ]αι ησυχιαϩ πασϩ ειτα οταν [απο  
 18 στω] απο του αν]θρωπου εκεινου ον κατ[οικει  
 19 γινεται ο ανθρω]ποϩ εκεινοϩ κενοϩ [απο του  
 20 πνϩ του] δικαιο]ν και τ[ο] λ[οιπον] πεπληρω  
 21 μενοϩ τοιϩ] πνι] τοιϩ που]ηροιϩ ακαταστα  
 22 τει εν πα]ση πραξει αυ]του περιπωμε  
 23 νοϩ ωδε κα]κει απο [των ανθρωπων των

↓

π[ον]ηρων κ[αι] ολωσ αποτυφλουται απο  
 τ[η]ς διανοιας τη[ς] αγαθης ουτως ουν κυμβαι  
 νει πασι τοις οξυ[χολοις] απεχου ουν απο της  
 οξυχολιας του πο[νηρου] π̄ν̄ς ενδυσαι δε την  
 30 μακροθυμιαν και [αντιστα τη οξυχολια και  
 τ[η] πεικρια και εση [ευρισκομενος μετα της  
 εε]μνοτητος της ηγα[πημενης] υπο του κ̄υ  
 βλεπε ουν μηποτε παρ[ενθυμηθης] της εν  
 το]λης ταυτης εαν γαρ τα[υτης] τη[ς] εντο  
 35 λης] κυριευσης 'δυνη ζησαι' και τας λοιπας εντ[ολας] δυνη  
 ρει φυλαξαι ᾶς <ς>οι μελλω εντελλεσθ[αι] ιχυ  
 ροποιου ουν εν αυταις και ενδυναμ[ου] και  
 παντες ενδυναμου[σθ]ωσαν οσοι [εαν θε  
 λησουσι εν αυταις π[ορευε]σθαι

40 εντολη 5 (35·1)

ενετειλαμην σ[οι] φ]ησιν εν τη πρωτη εντολη  
 ι]να φυλαξης την πισ[τι]ν κα[ι] τον φοβον και τη̄  
 εγ]κρατιαν ναι φημι κε̄ αλ[λα] νυν φησ̄ι  
 θελ]ω σοι δηλωσαι τας δυναμ[ει]ς αυτων ινα νοη  
 45 ση]ς τις 'αυτων' τι]να δυναμ[ει]ν [εχει και ενερ  
 γειαν διπλαι γαρ] εις αι ενεργ[ει]αι αυτων  
 κεινται ουν επι δι]καιω και αδικ[ω] ουν πισ  
 τευε τω δικαιω] τω δε αδικω [μη πιστευσης  
 το γαρ δικαιον] ορθην οδ[ον] εχει (2)

7 τε και codd.

8 ᾶ: the two dots serve to mark deletion?

After πικρια A supported by the citations in Antiochus (Ant.) and Pseudo-Athanasius (Ath.) reads εκ δε της πικριας θυμος. The papyrus probably read ειτ' | [εκ πικριας θυμος]; there is not space for της, and for the omission of the article cf. the end of 9.

9-10 After οργη the MSS read εκ δε της οργης μηνις. The repetition of θυμου is a slip on the part of the scribe of 3526, that of ετα a genuine variant.

11 συνεστραμμενη: συνισταμενη codd.

12-13 ταυτα τα πνευματα A: παντα τα ανθρωπινα ταυτα Ath.<sup>2</sup>; hi omnes spiritus E(thiopic); tam multi spiritus L(atin)<sup>2</sup>; haec omnia L<sup>1</sup>. The reading of the papyrus is closest to that of the Ethiopic.

13-14 After κατοικη A's text runs ου και το πνευμα το αγιον κατοικει ου χωρει κτλ. The shorter text of the papyrus is defensible, if not preferable.

14 το αγγος εκεινο codd. The papyrus first wrote αγγος; sigma was deleted with an oblique stroke, and iota added before omicron; suprascript traces near the end presumably represent nu.

15 το τρυφερον ουν codd.

16-17 After κατοικειν, the MSS have μηδε μετα κληροτητος (om. L<sup>1</sup>). The traces before απ[ seem to exclude -τος; they may allow -τι (μηδ εν κληροτ]ητι?).

19 πασης om. codd.

25 κα]κει: so Ath.<sup>2</sup>, followed by Whittaker; κακεισε A. At the end of the line the πνευματων of A (written πνω̄ν) would give too short a line; the papyrus probably agreed with Ath.<sup>2</sup> in reading ανθρωπων.

29 πο[νηρου]: so Ath.<sup>2</sup>; there is not enough space for A's πονηροτατου.

33-4 την εντολην ταυτην codd.

35 δυνη ζησαι added above the line; om. codd.

35-6 δυνηση A, followed (mistakenly) by Whittaker.

36-7 ιχυ]ροποιου: ιχυρου A; ιχυε ουν Ath.<sup>2</sup> L<sup>1</sup>. ιχυροποιειν occurs frequently elsewhere in Hermas while ιχυρω̄ω, found in the LXX, is otherwise unknown in early Christian writing. (Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. suggests that in this passage it is a false reading for ιχυε, but the reading of 3526 is to be preferred.)

38-9 θελωσιν codd.

43-4 αλλα νυν θελω σοι φησιν δηλωσαι codd.; l. 43 is suspiciously short.

44 και before τας codd.

3527. HERMAS, *Similitudes* 8. 4-5

40 5B.91/G(a)

10.5 × 19 cm

Early third century

Three joined fragments of a leaf of a codex; all belong to the outer part of the leaf. A little of the top and side margin of the column survives. The proportion of breadth to height is such that it can safely be assumed that there were two columns to the page; a complete column of writing would have measured 8.5 × 22 cm, a complete page approximately 21 × 30 cm. There were 33 lines to the column (of which 26 in part or whole survive) with an average of 21 letters to the line.

The hand is a regular and rounded Roman capital with occasional serifs; there is some resemblance to that of the Bodmer St. John (*GMAW* 63) though the latter is lighter and less formal: some too to that of the fragment of *Iliad* iii from Oxyrhynchus published by T. W. Mackay in *BASP* 10 (1973) 57-64.<sup>1</sup> But just as it mostly lacks the specific third-century stigmata of the former as noted by Turner *ad loc.*, so too its letter-shapes, particularly that of alpha, are later than those of the latter. I should ascribe it to the early third century. The writing is bilinear except for phi and, occasionally only, for lambda and alpha (the latter when it begins a word; they then have an elongated descender to the left). The writing is often compressed towards the end of the line. A space is left at the end of a sentence; cancellations (l. 45) are marked by dots above the letters; a trema is placed above initial iota.

The pagination, which, as its position shows, relates to the column and not to the page, was added by a second hand and poses a nice problem. It can be calculated that the first column of the codex would have begun with *Mandates* 4. 6 or thereabouts or, if headings were omitted or placed in the margin, at the beginning of *Mandate* 4. Neither

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mr T. C. Skeat for this reference.



appears a likely starting place were it not that the great Michigan codex, M, on a strict calculation of space would have opened with Mandate 4. Its editor, Campbell Bonner, argued that pagination must have been added after the initial (and final) leaves of the single-quire codex had been lost, pointing out that its mid-point lay precisely between the opening of *Vision* 5—in effect an introduction to the *Mandates*—and the end of the complete work. Professor M. Whittaker in her edition of *Hermas* (*Der Hirt des Hermas* in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1967), p. xii) accepts Bonner's argument and regards it as confirming the view that in Egypt at any rate the *Mandates* and *Similitudes* circulated independently of the *Visions*. But this gives little help in solving the problem set by the pagination of 3527. It might seem tempting to assume that 3527 was copied from M after the latter had lost its initial leaves; but, palaeographical considerations apart, the text of the two papyri differs so widely that the hypothesis cannot be entertained. It is of course possible, if hardly likely, that an accident similar to that presumed to have been suffered by M befell 3527 and that the first two leaves containing about six columns, the equivalent of 75 lines of text in Whittaker's edition, became detached before pagination began. It is no more likely that our codex was preceded by a much smaller one starting with *Vision* 1 and ending abruptly in the middle of *Mandate* 4. Perhaps the least improbable hypothesis is that the pagination was inaccurate.

For this section of *The Shepherd* both M and A, the fifteenth-century codex from Mount Athos, are available though Sinaiticus is not; it does not appear in any other papyrus fragment. The text of 3527 is not particularly close to that of either M or A, though in readings of consequence nearer to that of M. That there are no less than seven unique readings in this short passage suggests that the textual tradition was still fluid in the third century.

Collated with the text of Whittaker.

↓ πβ  
 εις] τον τοπον του αγ[γελου (70. 1) (8. 4)  
 του] μεγαλου καγω πα[ρεστα  
 θην] αυτω λεγει μοι π[εριζω  
 και] ωμολινον και διακ[ονει  
 5 μοι] περιεζωσαμη[ν εγω  
 ωμο]λινον γεγωνως κα[θ]α  
 ρον] ιδων δε με περι[εζω]ς (2)  
 μεν]ον και ετοιμον [ον]τα του  
 διακ]ονειν αυτω καλε[ι] φησι  
 10 του]ς ανδρας ων ειςιν αι ρα

βδο]ι πεφυτευμεναι' κατα [τ]α  
 . . .] οστις εδωκεν τας ρα  
 βδο]υς απηλθον εις το πεδιον  
 και εκ]αλεσα παντας κ[αι] . .  
 15 . . . πα]ντα τα ταγμα[τα λ]εγει (3)  
 δε αυτοις εκαστος εκ[τ]εινα  
 τω τας ραβδους τας ιδ[ι]ας  
 και φερετω προς με [π]ρω  
 τοι επεδωκαν οι τας [ρα]βδ[ο]υς  
 20 ξηρας και βεβρωμεν[α]ς ε[σ]χη  
 κοτες ωσαυτως ευρε[θ]ησαν (4)  
 ξηραι και [κ]εκομμεναι εκε  
 λευσεν αυτους χωρις σ[τ]η[ν]αι  
 αλλοι επεδωκαν τας ρ[αβδ]ους (5)  
 25 ξηρ[α]ς και μ[η] κ[ε]κομμενας  
 εχ[ον]τες [

→ πγ  
 σ[τ]η]ναι ειτα επεδωκα[ν οι ραβ] (70. 6)  
 δουσ] ημιξηρους σ[χ]ιμα[ς  
 εχου]σας πολλοι εξ α[υτων  
 30 χλωρ]ας επεδωκαν κα[ι μη εχου  
 σα[ς] χιμα[ς] τινες δε χλωρας  
 και παραφουαδας εχουσ[ας και  
 εις τας παραφουαδας κα[ρ]πους  
 35 οιας εσχον οι εις τον πυ[ργον  
 πορ[ε]υθεντες εστεφα[νω  
 μενοι τινες δε επεδ[ωκαν  
 ξηρας και βεβρωμενα[ς τι  
 νες δε ξηρας και αβρωτ[ου  
 τινες δε οιοι ησαν ημι[ξ]ηροι  
 40 και σ[χ]ιμας εχουσαι εκελε[ν  
 σεν [αυτο]υς ερα εκα[ς]τον  
 χωρ[ι]σθηται προς τα [ι]δια τα

γματα τους δε χωρις ειτα (71. 1) (8. 5)  
 επεδιδουν οι χλωρας μεν ε  
 45 χοντες χχιμας δε ουκ εχου  
 κας ουτοι παντες χλωρας ε  
 πεδωκαν και εστησαν εις το  
 ιδιον ταγμα εχαρη ο ποιμην  
 επι τουτοις ρ[τ]ι παντες ηλ  
 50 λωιωθησαν και απεθοντο  
 τα χχις]ματα αυτων επεδω (2)  
 καν δε και οι το ημι]ςυ χ[λω]ρον

2 του μεγαλου: om. AE.

3 και λεγει AL<sup>2</sup>E (tunc L<sup>1</sup>).

6 ωμολων εκ σακκου codd. 1. γεγονός.

7 δε: so AL<sup>1</sup>E; om. M.

8 του: τω M.

11-12 [τ]α | [ . . . ]: τα ταγματα M; το ταγμα A(LE). There is not room in the papyrus for M's reading; it may have read κατα ταγμα.

οστις: so A; ως τις cett.

εδωκεν: so A; επεδωκεν cett.

13 και απηλθον AE(L<sup>1</sup>).

14-15 . . | [ . . . ]: the papyrus probably read with M ε|παθη rather than A's εστησαν; the former suits the space better. Whittaker, following Lake, and with some support from the Old Latin and the Ethiopic, emends to εστησαν πάντες τάγματα τάγματα.

16-17 εκ[τ]ρινωτω: so M; εκτιλατω cett.

19 The addition of ραβδους (no other reading seems possible here) is peculiar to the papyrus.

21 ωσαντως: so ME; και οι ουτως A.

23 ε[τ]η]γα: only the scribe's habit of crowding his letters at the end of the line makes this reading plausible; there is no recorded variant.

24 αλλοι: ειτα codd.

24-5 τας ρ[αβδ]ονς: om. AL<sup>1</sup>.

ξηρ[α]ς: οι τας ξηρας codd.

27-8 οι τας ημισους ξηρους και χχιμας M and versions. The papyrus agrees with A in reading ημιξηρους, but the omission of τας and its replacement with ραβδους as well as the omission of και before χχιμας is peculiar to it; to read επεδωκα[ν οι τας] ημιξηρους would leave a gap of four letters at the beginning of 28, and even if 27 was unusually short τας would not fill the gap.

29 και πολλοι AE.

34 οιους A.

ειχον AE.

39 δε om. ML<sup>2</sup>E.

41 ερα εκα[ς]την: so A; εκαστον αυτων MLE.

42 χωρ[ι]σθηται: χωρις εστηναι MLE; A's χωρις σταθηναι may derive from the papyrus' reading.

Before προς the papyrus has omitted τους μεν found in all MSS and required by the τους δε of 43.

44 οι χλωρας: so M; οι τας ραβδους χλωρας cett.

48 εχαρη δε AL<sup>2</sup>E.

50-1 So M and versions; απεθοντο τας χχιμας A.

3528. HERMAS, *Similitudes* 9. 20-22

39 5B.117/K(1-4)b

9.6 × 2.9 cm

Late second/early third century

The principal interest of this small fragment of a single-column codex of the *Shepherd* lies in the pagination; it affords proof that, as has been suspected, in Egypt at any rate the *Similitudes* circulated independently of the *Visions* and the *Mandates*.

The writing is small, rounded and regular and of some elegance; the letters are of much the same size and apart from rho and phi bilinear. A recent example of this type of hand is XLII 3010; among Christian papyri the hand of the Chester Beatty Pauline Epistles may be compared with that of 3528, though the hypsilon is of a different shape. Pagination is by a separate hand, as is often the case; this points to the codex having been a professional production. The gap between recto and verso amounts in Whittaker's text (which follows the Latin and Ethiopic versions) to 942 letters; of these A, our sole witness to the Greek of this part of the *Shepherd*, omits 102. The number of lines is therefore either 35 or 32; it is probable that like M, the Michigan codex, and the other papyri, 3528 gave the full text, not that of A with its frequent omissions. We should then reckon with 38 lines to a column of writing measuring some 12 × 18 cm. The lines are slightly longer on the recto where the writing runs to the outer margin; the average number of letters to a line in a leaf is 27.

Collated with the GCS edition of Whittaker.

→ ριθ  
 θειν ε]ς την βασιλειαν του θῡ αλλα (97. 3) (9. 20)  
 τουτοις πα]ξι φησιν μετανοια εστιν  
 3 ταχινη δε ω ο τοις] προτεροις χρονοις  
 ↓  
 4 πεμπτου ορου[ς του εχοντος βοτα (99. 1) (9. 22)  
 νας χλωρας κα[ι τραχεος οντος οι  
 6 πικ]τευσαντε[ς

1 εις την βασιλειαν του θεου A.

2 φησιν, omitted by A and the versions, is superfluous; the nearest reference to a narrator is at 77. 3.

3 This line with 31 letters as against 28 is slightly longer than the preceding two; possibly δε was omitted.

4 του ορους του πεμπτου A.

## 3529. PASSION OF ST. DIOSCORUS

42 5B.75/D(1-4)a

6.5 × 13.3 cm

Fourth century

This scrap, apparently from a book-roll (the back is blank), contains the beginning of a dialogue between Culcianus the prefect and Dioscorus the martyr. The script is large, upright, and gawky; this awkwardness, and some letter-forms, especially the narrowly-pointed alpha, might suggest the early Roman period (e.g. Roberts, *GLH* 10c); but the content shows that the copy postdates AD 307. Mr Skeat compares the earlier XLIII 3106 (a formalized documentary style), and assigns 3529 to the fourth century; there are similarities with such informal literary hands as P. Chester Beatty XII (Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* ii no. 58) and P. Holm. (Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 96). No lectional signs, except high stop.

This is the earliest surviving version of the martyrdom; the Syriac stands in a MS of the 5th/6th century, the Latin in MSS of 12th and 13th. It is the simplest and shortest; and sets itself off from the others by omitting the dialogue between the prefect and his clerk (3-4), which might otherwise be thought a very circumstantial detail. Otherwise allegiances vary: it shares the year-date with the Syriac (1), the reference to Dioscorus' education (5) with the Latin (both versions), the introductory details (2-3) with the Syriac (in part) and with the apparently less plausible (because more flatulent) of the Latin versions. The transmission was clearly complex; but 3529 now gives the best view of the protocol from which the martyrdom presumably began.

<p>], λητιανου[ ]ροσα. . . [ ]ιανονηγεμ[ ]διοσκορηκουσα[ 5 ]δια·θ· κονκαιεπα[ ]. ·δ[ ]οσκορορει[ ]νοντωθ̄ω[ ]νω·οσουκφα[ ]. ηκαρδια. [ 10 ]σαυτωειπ[ ]. ρμουανα. [</p>	<p>Διο]κλητιανου [ συλληφθεις Διοσκο]ρος ἀπὸ τ[ῆς Ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν βουλευτῆς εἰσήχθη πρὸς Κουλκ]ιανὸν ἡγεμ[όνα Κουλκιανὸς εἶπεν·] Διοσκορε, ἡκούσα[μεν ὅτι λίαν συνετὸς γέγονας ἐν τῇ παι]δ(ε)ία. θύσον καὶ ὑπά[κουσον τοῖς προστάγμασι τῶν κυρίων σεβαστῶ]ν. Διοσκορος εἶ[πεν· θεοῖς τοιούτοις οὐ θύω οὐδὲ ὑπακούω εἰ μὴ μό]νον τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ [ ]νω ὃς οὐκ ἔκ' φα[ίνεται ] τη καρδιά . [ Κουλκιανὸ]ς αὐτῷ εἶπ[εν· ἀναγνώστης εἶ; Διοσκορος εἶπεν· οὐκ, ἀλλ' ὁ πατ]ήρ μου ἀναγ[νώστης ἦν</p>
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The parallel texts are these:

Syriac Vat. Syr. 160, 5th/6th cent. *Analecta Bollandiana* 39 (1921) 333. Quoted in the Latin translation at p. 342.

Latin A BM Cotton Tiberius, D. III, 12th cent. *Anal. Boll.* 24 (1905) 321.

B BM Cotton Nero, E. I, 13th cent. *Anal. Boll.* *ibid.*

F Bodl. Fell 3, 12th cent. *Anal. Boll.* 40 (1922) 352.

3529 is broken both to right and to left. The reconstruction printed assumes (i) that the lines had *c.* 50 letters; (ii) that the dialogue proper began on a new line (although individual utterances within it do not, see 6, 10), so that 15 (or perhaps 20) letters are missing at the beginning of 4. (i) rests on ll. 5-7, where the restoration is least uncertain; the minimum plausible supplement of 5-6, and the maximum of 6-7, coincide at *c.* 50 letters.

1 date, 2-3 introductory narrative. The top margin is narrow and broken, but enough to show that 1 was in fact the first line of the text.

Syr. *Martyrium Dioscori*, (die) quarta (mensis) kanun posterioris. Anno vicesimo tertio Diocletiani, cum comprehensus esset Dioscorus curialis (βουλευτής) de Cynopoli civitate, Culcianus praeses < >

Lat. AF *Incipit passio sancti Dioscori martyris qui passus est in Aegypto et fuit curialis. XV Kl. Julii. Astante Dioscoro curiali de loco < qui > appellatur Cinopoliton (curiali qui appellatur ano quinoblitone F), Culcianus praeses dixit, 'qua causa transmissus est Dioscorus?'*

Lat. B *Incipit passio sancti Dioscori martyris. XV Kl. Junii. Sanctus et electus Dei Dioscorus, cum in Aegypto religiosam duceret vitam et Christo devote per omnia fideliterque serviret, tam conversationis exemplo quam praedicationis documento multos alios ad veram fidem religionemque convertit. cumque fama sanctitatis eius late sese diffunderet, comprehensus est a curatore civitatis, quae vocabatur Cinopolitos, et praesidi nomine Culciano transmissus. itaque, cum astaret, ait praeses officio suo, 'qua de causa directus est ad nos Dioscorus?'*

Date. The year is stated only in Syr.: 23 Diocletian = AD 306/7 (after his abdication; an example of the Era of the Martyrs, see Bagnall and Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 46). This suits Culcianus: he took office sometime before 6.6.301 (XLVI 3304), and left it sometime after 29.5.306 (VIII 1104); no successor is known before Valerius Victorinus, who held office in the earlier part of 308 and left it before September (XXXIII 2674. 3 n.). If 3529 had ετους τριτου και εικοστου, the initial lacuna was longer than here assumed; if ετους κγ, the date may have been centred, or perhaps other matter preceded it.

The month and day will have followed Διο]κλητιανου. The Latin tradition gives *a. d. XV kal. Jun.* (B), *Jul.* (AF), *Jan.* (*Mart. Hieronymianum*) = 18 May, 17 June, and 18 December; Syriac 4 January; *Synaxarium Eccl. CP* 13 October. See Delchaye, *Mart. Hieronymianum* (*Acta SS. Nov.* ii 2, 1931) p. 73.

2 τ[ῆς Ἄνω Κυνοπολιτῶν: tau apparently altered from (or to) an upright with a looped top (kappa?). Syr. and Lat. agree on Cynopolis; Lat. F (*ano quinoblitone*) and *Mart. Hieronymianum* (*anacipoli*) preserve ἄνω in otherwise corrupt readings.

For συλληφθείς (*comprehensus* Syr., Lat. B) . . . εἰσήχθη (*transmissus* Lat. B), cf. *Acta Justinī* 1 (Musurillo, *ACM* p. 42). Something of the sort is needed to explain the accusative in 3.

3 At the end, room for *c.* 25 letters (or *c.* 15, if a longer restoration of 4 is accepted); probably the line ended short, and the dialogue began a new paragraph in 4. There is certainly no space for the exchange between the prefect and his clerk, which both Syr. and Lat. have at this point.

4-6 Syr. *Culcianus dixit: Dioscore, audivimus quia prudens es, accede ergo, immola et obaudi praecepto divino dominorum imperatorum.*

Lat. AFB *Culcianus praeses dixit: Dioscore, audivi quia valde (valde om. B) prudens es in eruditione; immola (ergo diis add. B) et obaudito praeceptis (obaudi praeceptum F, obaudi praecepta B) dominorum (nostrorum add. B) imperatorum (et magnum inde consequeris honorem B).*

4 Κουλκιανὸς εἶπεν]: the minimum; ἡγεμών (Lat.) or αὐτῷ (cf. 10) or both could be added.

4-5 Reconstructed from Lat., which is clearly closer to the remains than Syr.

5 ὑπά[κουσον: altered from επ- (by a second hand?).

5-6 Minimum restoration. θείοις could be added before προστάγμασι (Syr.), ἡμῶν before σεβαστῶ]ν (or αὐτοκρατόρω]ν) (Lat. B).

6-9 Syr. *Dioscorus dixit: diis huiusmodi non immolo neque obaudio, nisi Iesu Christo Deo vero.—Culcianus dixit: cui deo obaudis?—Dioscorus dixit: deum verum colo, ille (est) qui non est visus omnibus hominibus, nisi tantum his qui recti sunt in corde suo pro testimonio Dei.*

Lat. AFB *Dioscorus dixit* (*respondit* B): *huiusmodi diis non immolo neque sequor* (*ego nunquam immolabo huiusmodi diis quos tu dicis* B), *nisi soli Deo meo* (*Deo vero domino meo* B) *Ihesu Christo vero deo* (*vero deo om.* B).—*Culcianus dixit: cui deo sic* (*tu* F) *immolas?*—*Dioscorus dixit: vero* (*soli vero* F) *Deo qui non est visus omnibus hominibus, nisi his qui recto sunt corde* (*Culcianus . . . corde om.* B).

7–8 τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ [μου . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ (or ἸΥ ΧΩ) Θ(ε)ῷ ἀληθι]νῷ? This leaves *c.* 20 letters to spare (not allowing for *nomina sacra*), too long for the simple τῷ κυρίῳ μου but too short for a medial question from Culcianus, as in Syr. and Lat. Alternatively, as Dr Rea suggests, the Greek may have kept the question and abridged the answers, say, τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ [μου. Κουλιανὸς εἶπεν: τίνι θ(ε)ῷ; Διόσκορος εἶπεν: Θ(ε)ῷ ἀληθι]νῷ.

8–9 Supply e.g. πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰ μὴ μόνον τοῖς καθαροῖς] τῇ καρδίᾳ? But the last phrase (Matth. 5: 8 from Ps. 23: 4) does not quite suit *recti*; more relevant Acts 8: 21 (from Ps. 78: 37) ἡ γὰρ καρδία σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεία ἔναντι τοῦ Θεοῦ, if it could be adapted to the syntax.

τῇ καρδίᾳ. [: a high trace, perhaps the top of an upright, spaced too far to serve as adscript to *καρδία*. If 10 is rightly reconstructed, there are *c.* 30 letters to fill after this; Syr. continues with ὑπὲρ μαρτυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ (1 Cor. 2: 1), but the space requires more, and the trace disallows π[τερ.

9–11 Syr. *Culcianus dixit: <lector> es?*— < > *et dixit: <non sum>, sed pater meus erat lector.*

Lat. AFB *Culcianus dixit: lector es?* (*numquid lector es?* B)—*Dioscorus dixit: non sum* (*non* B), *sed pater meus lector fuit.*

10 Κουλιανὸ]c rather than Διόσκορο]c: Dr Rea points out that ἀτῷ in such proceedings does not refer to the presiding official (cf. XLI 2952. 10 n.).

## II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

### 3530. EURIPIDES, *Aegeus?* *Theseus?*

70/3(a)

4.5 × 11.0 cm

Second/third century

A scrap from the foot of a column; lower margin *c.* 4 cm; back blank. The scribe wrote a good small upright Severe Style (not the same as that of XXVII 2452, another Theseus-play); he marks elision (2, 12), adds iota adscript (10, 13).

Theseus (11), armed with a club (13), faces a beast (12) with horns (6). There is an onlooker (4). Metre and content suggest a speech of tragedy; and specifically, a messenger-speech (4, cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 652). The messenger describes his vantage-point (2–3), then the beast (5–9), then Theseus (10 ff.) stripped for action (12): this must be the beginning of the speech and of the combat which (presumably) it will describe in detail.

For the beast, we have to choose between the Bull of Marathon and the Cretan Minotaur. (i) 10–13 provide no evidence; Theseus could have used a club in either exploit. (ii) 5–9 provide only a shaky hint: the description concentrates on head and perhaps (but the text is very uncertain) on tail; this is what an observer notices in the Minotaur (Eur. *Cret.* 81. 31 ff. Austin); in a bull he might pick out other traditional signs of bellicosity (5–9 n.). All very dubious. (iii) 1–4 offer clues, but in damaged context: 1 κίονω[ν?, 3 ἄκρον (or μ]ακρόν) καὶ δα[. ‘Pillars’ (if the word is rightly recognized here) suggests a building; that does not exclude Marathon (though no account or painting of the taumachy that I have seen actually shows a building in this context); it would positively suit the Labyrinth.<sup>1</sup> But if it is the Labyrinth, dramaturgic questions arise: if the fight took place inside, who was the observer who now reports? if it took place outside, why is the action only now beginning?<sup>2</sup> Line 3 increases the difficulties. If part of δακύς is to be recognized, it would be natural to think of a ‘high wooded hill’ or a ‘tall leafy tree’; however this combines with ‘pillars’, it sounds less relevant to the Labyrinth than to Marathon.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vase-painters regularly show the Labyrinth as a pillared structure: R. Eilmann, *Labyrinthos* (1931) 55–64, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Three RF *kylikes* show Theseus striking down the Minotaur in a pillared portico, that is, outside the Labyrinth: Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 239, B 8 (related to the Phiale Painter?), B 9 (Codrus Painter), B 10 (Aison). These are all versions of the same scene, but not the scene of 3530, since (a) Theseus uses a sword, not a club; (b) the Minotaur is visibly at last gasp, in no condition to fill up a messenger speech. Two BF *lekythoi* of the earlier 5th cent. show a fighting Minotaur next to a meander-decorated pillar (*VL*<sup>3</sup> 235, A.c. 11 and 13); but that may be meant as an interior. Some Roman mosaics set the scene outside a fortified structure: V. Daszewski, *La Mosaique de Thésée* (1977) 74.

<sup>3</sup> Unless he climbed a tree, and looked down into a roofless (Soph. fr. 1030 Radt?) Labyrinth.

The author of the piece was very probably Euripides. (i) Eur. fr. 926 N<sup>2</sup> fits temptingly in line 7; but since the quotation has *διαφαίροντα*, and the papyrus *διαφαίροντα*, the placing could be doubted. (ii) There are close verbal similarities between 4 and Eur. *Suppl.* 652, 6 (as reconstructed) and Eur. *Ba.* 743, 7 and Eur. fr. 926 (both animal contexts, even if different lines).

Two plays of Euripides come into consideration: *Aegeus*, if the beast is the Bull; *Theseus*, if the Minotaur.<sup>1</sup> 3530 would have consequences for the plot of either. (i) *Aegeus*. In the common story, the Recognition of Theseus precedes his fight with the Bull; another version (Ov. *Met.* 7. 425 ff., Apollod. *Epit.* 1. 5, *Myth. Vat.* i 48) reverses the order; this second story has been thought to derive from Euripides, since it has more obviously the shape of a tragic plot, and since it appears (or is implied) in vase-paintings of suitable date (B. B. Shefton, *AJA* 60 (1956) 159 ff.; *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 1 i 360 ff.). But in 3530 Theseus has been recognized as son of Aegeus, by someone at least, before he meets the Bull (10), or at least before that meeting is reported. (ii) *Theseus*. Next to nothing is known about the plot; but it has been guessed that the motif of the three wishes granted by Poseidon—the second used by Theseus to escape from the Labyrinth—occurred in this play (a sceptical view in W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytus* 39 f.). Something of the sort would account for the heavy emphasis which the messenger (10 f.) places on Theseus' real parentage.<sup>2</sup>

	. . . . . ] . ἔκλιονω[	. . . . . ]θε κίωνω[ν
	. . . . . ] . ατ' εἶχον[	. . . . . ] . ατ' εἶχον [
	. . . . . ] ακρονκαιδ[.] . [	. . . . . ] ακρον και δα[
	. . . . . ] . γθεατ. ραϑφ[	. . . . . ]ων θεατῆς ἀϑφ[αλ
5	. . . . . ] . ετονμενβρο[	λεύσσω] δὲ τὸν μὲν βο[
	. . . . . ] . ακ. ρτογεισκ[	. . . . . ]τα κνρτόν εἰς κ[έρασ θυμούμενον
	. . . . . ] . διαψαιροντα. [	γλώσση] διαψαίροντα μιυκτῆρων πόρουσ
	. . . . . ] . ιθαρσον. . . α. [	. . . . . ] . ι θαρσοῦντα. [
	. . . . . ] . . μηρωνε. το. [	. . . . . ]τα μηρῶν εντοσ[
10	. . . . . ]ωσ. μεντ[.] . ιλο. ω. [	ὁ δ' Αἰγέ]ωσ μὲν τῶι λόγωι [κεκλημένος,
	. . . . . ]δεθησευ. [.] κπποσ. [	ἔργωι] δὲ Θεγεύς ἐκ Ποεξ[ιδῶνοσ γεγώσ,
	. . . . . ]ματ' ἐκδυσθηροσ[	. . . . . ]ματ' ἐκδὺσ θηρόσ [
	. . . . . ]ρυνηιδεξίανω[	. . . . . κο]ρύννη δεξίαν ὦ[πλιςμένωσ

<sup>1</sup> Latest collection of fragments: Mette, *Lustrum* 12 (1968) 12 and 123. Webster had suggested, that XXVII 2452 belongs to Euripides' *Theseus*; the latest editor retains it for Sophocles (fr. 730 Radt).

<sup>2</sup> I am much indebted for help and advice to Mr G. O. Hutchinson (Christ Church, Oxford); and to members of the International Summer School of Papyrology (London University Institute of Classical Studies, 1982), who discussed the text, especially Professor Haslam, Professor Maehler, and Mr Desmond Schmidt.

1 ], lower right-hand arc of oval (theta, omega?) ν: above this, watery traces by a thinner pen, ], r[ suprascript? ω[: only the left-hand curve and central dip of the base-line 2 ], apparently right-hand end of horizontal at one-third height χ: only the crossing 3 ], trace at line-level, rising from left to right; probably thick enough to represent the junction of two strokes, i.e. alpha 4 ], upright trace on the edge, curving to the left at top (i.e. omega?) τ. , two uprights, first perhaps with trace of junction at two-thirds height φ[, only the left-hand part of the bowl 5 ], point on edge at one-third height ρ[: only the left-hand arc 6 ], right-hand end of high horizontal (gamma, xi?, sigma, tau) κ. , minimal specks to top right 7 ], top of upright ], foot of upright 8 ], see comm. ρν. . . , top of upright; end of descender from left to right joining upright at base; upright, top damaged, but hairline of ink extending horizontally to right ], trace near line-level rising from left to right, indeterminate traces above at top level 9 ], . . , foot of upright below line-level; trace at line-level rising from left to right ω: only the left-hand side ε. , after a space an upright sloping slightly leftwards at base 10 ε. , a point nearly level with the tops of letters τ[ ], upper part of upright ρ. , upright, damaged area to right ], upright on edge 11 ], sigma or perhaps epsilon ], upright on edge 13 ω[, left-hand arc only

In 6 ff. the metre shows that 2-3 syllables are lost at the line-beginnings; the precise loss in letters can be estimated from 7, if it is restored as fr. 926, and from 10-11, where the supplements look very plausible.

1 For the first trace, if I see it right, only theta is a practical possibility. Articulations include (i) ]θ[?] ἔκλιον ω[, (ii) ]θε κίωνω[ν; but neither accounts for the suprascript above nu. (i) makes linguistic difficulties; only Aeschylus of the tragedians uses κίω, and then only in the present; we should have to explain ἔκλιον as an epicism (such as do occur in messenger speeches). (ii) escapes this objection; and supplements easily suggest themselves (ἄλ]θε or compound, πρόσ]θε, ὄπις]θε).

2 It could be guessed from 4 that the messenger describes his location: εἶχον first person. Before that, ], ατ' or ], α τ'; the first trace looks most like delta, kappa or psi (but there may be other possibilities).

3 ἄκρον or μ]ακρόν. Either might describe the speaker's vantage point; for the former cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1091 πύργων ἐπ' ἄκρων, *Ba.* 1064 οὐράνιον ἄκρον κλάδων.

δα[: the reading depends on two considerations: (i) the final oblique trace looks like the coincidence of two strokes, i.e. the left-hand angle of alpha; (ii) it follows close enough on delta to be the next letter; δ[ι]α[ cannot be excluded, but the spacing is against it. If δα[ is right, there are not many possibilities beyond καὶ δα[ σύν or the like.

4 f. The pattern as in Eur. *Suppl.* 650 ff. (messenger speech) λαμπρὰ μὲν ἀκτίσ ἡλίου, κανὼν ραφῆσ, | ἔβαλλε γαῖαν ἀμφὶ δ' Ἠλέκτρασ πύλασ | ἔστην θεατῆσ πύργων εὐαγῆ λαβῶν. | ὄρω δέ . . .

4 The first trace best suits omega (therefore not ἔστ]ην, which in any case falls short of the estimated space). A participle? or a genitive, e.g. πάντ]ων (a bit short) θεατῆσ, ἀϑφ[αλή λαβῶν ἔδραν?

5-9 The beast described. If we take this to be the beginning of the speech, and therefore of the fight, we can assume that the description centred on its strength and pugnacity; but the details might differ, according to whether the Bull or the Minotaur is in question (though they will have shared some points of bullish behaviour).

For the Minotaur see Eur. *Cretes* 81. 31 ff. Austin: bull's head, man's body, two legs; hairy, tailed, bellowing. This accords with the vase-painters' norm (F. Brommer, *Theseus* (1982) 37).

On angry bulls see 'Theoc.' 25. 136 ff., Virg. *Georg.* 3. 232 ff., *Aen.* 12. 103 ff., Ov., *Met.* 7. 111 ff., Pliny, *NH* 8. 181, Stat. *Theb.* 11. 251 ff., 'Opp.' *Cyn.* 2. 54 ff. Characteristically they (i) butt the air (cf. Eur. *HF* 867), (ii) paw the ground, (iii) foam at mouth (Stasius only), (iv) breathe hard (*HF* 869), (v) look death or fire (cf. Eur. fr. 689. 3), (vi) bellow (*ἤρυνεν Il.* 20. 403, *κεκλήγοντοσ* 'Opp.': generally *μυκάσθαι*, as at *Il.* 21. 237, Eur. *HF* 870, Ap. *Rhod.* 3. 1298, or *βρυχάσθαι*, as Soph. *Aj.* 322, 'Theoc.'). The first of these occurs in l. 6; the last may not suit a list of visual impressions.

5 λέύσσω] suits the space; ὄρω] (as at *Suppl.* 653) too short.

τὸν μὲν βο[. (i) If this is the Bull, the simplest supplement would be βο[όν; for the postpositive before the caesura Mr Hutchinson compares e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 330. Alternatively, a compound βο[όν; βο[ετρυχ- (if that is ever used of animal hair); etc. (ii) If it is the Minotaur, we have the same choice; βο[όν would be less suitable, the rest more so (emphasizing the animality of the *Mischwesen*). The next line probably began with a participle, . . . . ν]τ;α; the intervening words may have depended on this.

6 κνρτόν suggests horns (straight horns are fashionable in epic, crooked later: Bühler on Moschus, *Europa* 87); the supplement from Eur. *Ba.* 743 ταῦροι δ' ὑβρισται κὰσ κέρασ θυμούμενοι (whence Virg. *Georg.* 3. 232, *Aen.*

12. 104). The motif descends to Callimachus, fr. 732 *πολλὰ μάτην κεράεσσιν ἐς ἥερα θυμύναντα*; and Catullus, 64. 110 f. *sic domito saevom prostravit corpore Theseus | nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis*. The second refers to the Minotaur; the first has been referred (without any proof) to the *Hecale* and therefore to the Bull. (If we were sure that the Bull is here in question, we could see the *Aegeus* as a source for the *Hecale* in this detail and perhaps in the detail of the club, see l. 13 and Call., fr. 260. 1 as revised by Lloyd-Jones and Rea, *HSCP* 72 (1968) 133 f.)

7 Eur., fr. 926 N<sup>2</sup> (1243 Mette) *γλώσση διαφαίρουσα μυκτῆρων τόπους (πόρους coni. Valckenaer ad Eur. Phoen. 1399)*. The line is quoted in isolation by *Et. Gen.*, *Et. Magn.*, and Zonaras, whose editors report no variants (for *Et. Gen.* A I have confirmed this on a photograph). If it is to be recognized here, the quotation must be corrupt.

In favour of the placing: (i) *γλωσση* exactly fits the initial space, as estimated from the probable supplements in 10 f.; (ii) *γλωσση* and *μ[υκτῆρων]* fully suit the initial and final traces (admittedly no more than part-preserved uprights); (iii) the sense coheres well with the feral context; (iv) *διαφαίρειν* is a rare word (and, as an articulation, *διαφαίροντα* looks much more promising than *-δια φαίροντα*).

Against the placing: (i) all the quotations agree on *-ουσα*; no doubt they derive from a single source (*Et. Gen.* A and B refer explicitly to the earlier lexicon called τὸ 'Ρηγορικόν'), but that source had the feminine; and, as Professor Haslam remarks, since the line stands in isolation, there was no temptation to adapt the ending to a new context; (ii) other contexts can be imagined for *διαφαίρουσα* in the quotation (Naber referred it to the Chimaera), and for *(δια)φαίροντα* in the papyrus (tails 'sweep' the ground, Virg. *Georg.* 3. 59, *Ov. Met.* 10. 701); (iii) do bulls, in fact or poetry, ever lick out their nostrils?

A compromise may be possible. If Euripides used the striking description of butting horns both here and at *Ba.* 743, then he might have used the equally striking *διαφαίρειν* in two different passages.

8 ] . ι: the first letter looks most like tau (if epsilon or sigma, the preceding letter joins it at the top, which is not expected); but the junction is oddly made, and a further point of ink, on an isolated fibre at one-third height, seems too far left to fit the upright.

If tau is right, and given that this must be the third or fourth syllable of the line, we could consider: (i) × - ]τῖ θαρσοῦντ[ ] α. [ (or θαρσοῦντα . ] ; but there is no example of *scriptio plena* elsewhere), or (ii) × - υ ]τῖ θαρσοῦντα . ] . I see no way of proceeding with (ii); (i) would allow e.g. *ὀδόν]τι, δεινόν]τι (ὡς ἄν]τι* a little short).

At the end, most of the traces will belong to the long curving tail of alpha. What follows is perhaps the beginning of an oblique rising from line-level towards the right (alpha, lambda, chi?). Above alpha the papyrus is broken; a high point could have been lost.

9 ]τϚ: the first is the foot of an upright, reaching a little below the line; for the second we expect a vowel (since the syllable must be short), and only alpha suits the remains. Presumably the end of another participle.

*μηρών*: other articulations (*ἀμῆρων, ἄμ' or -αμ', ἦρων or ἦρων*) carry no conviction. Then seemingly *εγτος*[: of nu only the lower end of the diagonal and the upper end of the second vertical; of sigma only the top corner (gamma or pi might be alternatives). *ἐντός, ἔντος, ἐν τοσ-*? (Or *ἐντοπ-, ἐν τοπ-*?) The speaker might mention the Minotaur's tail; or the Bull's thighs or tail or genitals (by which, in some paintings, Theseus binds him: *RE Suppl.* xiii 1088). But I do not see how to reconstruct the wording. If *μηρών ἐντός*, what was 'within' or 'this side of' (it cannot mean 'between') the beast's thighs?

10 I owe the reconstruction of this line to discussion with Professor Haslam, Mr Hutchinson, and Professor Machler. Schol. A Eur. *Hipp.* 887 puts the same point: . . . *Θησεὺς νιός μὲν Αἰθρας καὶ λόγῳ μὲν Αἰγέως, ἔργῳ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος*.

*Αἰγέ]ωσ*: after sigma, a point of ink, positioned as a high stop, which I cannot account for.

11 Mr Hutchinson notes that the postponement of the actual name is characteristic of such formal descriptions, e.g. Eur., *Androm.* 9 f.

12 *τᾶσθῆ]μασ'* would suit the space.

*εκδυσ* altered to *εγδυσ*: *εγ-* is the regular spelling of the pre-Roman period, in papyri (Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* i 173) as in Attic inscriptions (Threatte, *Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* i 581); later the more etymological *εκ-* becomes the norm.

At the end, a verb on the pattern [*ἔρχεται πέλας*?

13 Eur. *Suppl.* 715 f. (Theseus) *ὄπλιμα τοῦπιδαύριον λαβὼν | δεινῆς κορόνης, Phoen.* 267 *ὄπλιμμένος δὲ χεῖρα τᾶδε φασγάνῳ*. For the club in the taurromachy, cf. Call. fr. 260. 1 (6 n.), *RE Suppl.* xiii 1086, Brommer, *Theseus* 30 (commoner on RF vases); for the club and the Minotaur, *RE* l.c. 1122, Brommer 44 (four examples of the late fifth century). At the beginning, probably an epithet; but I have not found one suitable to the space (*δεινή* looks too long).

3531. EURIPIDES (OR CRITIAS), *Pirithous*

29 4B.56/X(6-9)a

7.3 × 10.2 cm

Second century

A further fragment of the text published in 1927 by A. S. Hunt as XVII 2078 (Pack<sup>2</sup> 254 = fr. 809-12 Mette) under the heading 'Euripides (?)'. The new fragment, which brings to six the number from this roll, has the beginnings of twenty-eight trimeters together with part of the upper and left-hand margins. The fragments are written, to quote the *editio princeps*, 'in a small sloping hand of an informal, rapid type dating from about the middle or latter part of the second century'. There are no lection signs by the first hand but a second hand has added in a lighter ink paragraphi to mark changes of speaker, and in the new fragment character-names in a rapid cursive. Sometimes the first scribe has used *scriptio plena*, sometimes elision.

*Pirithous* is known from nine book fragments (Snell, *TrGF* i, Critias F 1-4 and 10-14 = fr. 807, 813-15, and 818-22 Mette), varying in length from single words to a passage of sixteen complete trimeters. The more extensive parts of these and of 2078 appear in D. L. Page, *Select Papyri* III no. 15. Two more papyrus fragments, belonging together but not part of the Oxyrhynchus text, appear among the adespota in Kannicht and Snell, *TrGF* ii 658 under the heading 'ΠΕΙΡΙΘΟΥΣ?' They were attributed by the previous editor in P. Köln I 2 to 'Kritias(?), Peirithoos', although W. Luppe in P. Flor. VII pp. 141-6 has given a quite different interpretation to them.

The outline of the plot is known from an all too brief hypothesis preserved by an otherwise unknown writer, John the Deacon, in his commentary on Hermogenes' *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* and edited for the first time by H. Rabe in *RhM* 63 (1908) 144 (Snell F 1 = fr. 807 Mette): *Πειρίθου ἐπὶ τῇ Περσεφόνης μνηστεία μετὰ Θησεὺς εἰς Αἴδου καταβάς τιμωρίας ἔτυχε τῆς προπούσης· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀκνήτω καθέδρα πεδηθεὶς δρακόντων ἐφρουρεῖτο χάσμασιν· Θησεὺς δὲ τὸν φίλον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αἰσχροὺς ἠγούμενος βίου εἴλετο τὴν ἐν Αἴδου ζώην. ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπὸ Εὐρυσεθέως τοῦ μὲν θηρίου βία περιεγένετο, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Θησεῖα χάριτι τῶν χθονίων θεῶν τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐξέλυσε, μιᾷ πράξει καὶ τὸν ἀντικείμενον χειρωσάμενος καὶ παρὰ θεῶν χάριν λαβὼν καὶ δυστυχοῦντας ἐλέησε φίλους*. The information that both heroes were saved in the play—a variation from the general tradition preserved only in Hyginus 79. 3 and in one passage of Diodorus (iv 26. 1)—is further confirmed by the scholia on Tzetzes' *Chiliades* (Snell, p. 171): *κατ' Εὐριπίδην κώζονται καὶ οἱ δύο*. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1456<sup>a</sup>3, in enumerating the types of tragedy, refers to *ὄσα ἐν ᾄδου*, among which no doubt is included the *Pirithous*. Apart from the fact that the category into which such plays fall is not quite clear because of textual corruption, the passage throws no light on the plot of the *Pirithous*. (See D. W. Lucas, *Aristotle, Poetics* 188.)

The only other external evidence for the play is the sentence following John the Deacon's hypothesis and introducing a quotation of sixteen trimeters, the longest complete passage that we have from the play. We learn that Aeacus comes on and

addresses four lines to Heracles who then replies (Snell F 1). It is a passage of exploratory conversation in which Heracles reveals to the audience who he is, what he is doing and why. This in itself indicates a position early in the play and since Aeacus is in some sources the doorkeeper of Hades (Roscher, s.v. Aiakos 112–13 and Lucian, *D. Mort.* 20. 1 and especially *de Luctu* 4), he would be one of the first people encountered by Heracles. The position of the passage cannot be fixed with certainty, although Snell (p. 172) points out that it is the first words of a play which are associated with a hypothesis. Aeacus' expression of surprise would be appropriate for the arrival of an outsider at or near the beginning of the play. Despite Wilamowitz's rather strange view (*Kleine Schriften* iv 534) that part of the play's action took place in the underworld and part on earth, there is no reason to think that it was enacted anywhere but in Hades—and indeed probably somewhere near the entrance. Such a location would suit the appearance of Aeacus in his capacity as doorkeeper. To support this idea, we know from Apollod. ii 5. 12 that Heracles found Theseus and Pirithous when he came near the gates of Hades. The remaining book fragments, amounting to twenty lines, unfortunately provide no further indications of the action of the play.

2078 fr. 2 and 3 (Snell F 7), which have now been joined, formed the basis of the original identification of the papyrus fragments of the play.<sup>1</sup> It can be seen from 12 and 14 that Heracles is engaged on one of his labours for Eurystheus and from 13 that he has been offered help by Theseus, presumably in his capture of Cerberus; Theseus refuses to leave a captive friend, with which must be compared the phrase in the hypothesis, *Θησεύς δὲ τὸν φίλον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἡγοούμενος*. Once the resemblances to the story of the *Pirithous* had been established, further support could be gained from fr. 1 (Snell F 5) where references in 9, 13, and 14 are suitable for the legend of Pirithous' father Ixion, who in trying to seduce Hera was deceived by a cloud in her shape and for this presumption was bound to the famous wheel.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On re-examining the original I have noted the following new readings: 1 ] . cηε[ , ]οση . [HMC 2 ]πη[ , or ]ηπ[ ? Snell; ] . πη[ HMC 4 ν[ὐ]ν , νῦν HMC 10 [δ' , δ' HMC 15 Instead of Hunt's π[ανταχῆ γ' or Page's π[αντελώς , Professor H. G. T. Maehler suggests π[ροστύχοις , i.e. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐπιφέρει π[ροστύχοις] ἐμὴν ἔχεις 16 λ]ε , ]λε HMC 23 ] . , η almost certain 33 ]γ . εἴ , ] . . η HMC; first, vertical with horizontal joining at top right—γ , η or π; second, low trace—part of oblique? mid trace to right—e.g. α or λ; third, traces similar to second—e.g. α or λ: scarcely ε; fourth, stroke linking verticals too straight for ν: π impossible at line end. Could this be πάλῃ , i.e. with Cerberus, cf. *TrGF* II 658 a 3? 39 ]τεε , ]φεε HMC

<sup>2</sup> 2 . . . . [ , υφιζ[ , υφυξ[ sim. Snell; υ scarcely doubtful, φ rather than ψ HMC 18 Hunt followed by Snell read ζ[ . ]νμ[ and suggested c[υ]νμ[εσεχηκώς or c[υ]νμ[έτρος . However, the undotted ν is in fact the right half of ω , the left part of which would exactly fill the gap of the supposedly missing letter; the oblique joining the vertical at the foot is characteristic of ω in this hand—the join is too low for ν . Since a short syllable is required to start the 4th foot, I suggest ζώμα [ . So instead of 'he was torn to pieces', we have 'his body was torn to pieces', a change which in itself does not advance the interpretation of the lines any further. In the line above there seems to be a mention of the Boreadae. To quote the *editio princeps*, 'διεπα[ρ]άχθη will not apply to Pirithous. The other son of Ixion was Centaurus, the offspring of Νεφέλη , and Murray suggests that possibly the legend here followed represented this cloud-monster as having been blown in pieces; of this, however, nothing is otherwise known.' It seems to me unlikely that in the space of five lines, between 14 and 19, both of which clearly refer to Ixion, someone else should no sooner be introduced than dropped again. We cannot attain

The evidence for any definite interpretation of the sense of the two papyrus fragments in *TrGF* ii 658 or for the identification of the speakers is not conclusive. A. Carlini in the *editio princeps* of fr. (b) in *ASNP* 37 (1968) 163–71 was cautious in attributing them to the *Pirithous*, but the editor of the Cologne papyri ascribes them without hesitation to this play. It seems to me a reasonable attribution. Fr. (a) 2 contains a reference to a dog, possibly Cerberus, and a struggle that is οὐ θηρὸς πάλη (3) and which Carlini takes as referring to the freeing of Theseus and Pirithous. Fr. (b), from the use of *ce* in 13 and *coi* in 18, is clearly part of a dialogue in which the speaker, at least in the latter part (cf. 20), is a woman and therefore perhaps Persephone. If this is so, the futures in 16 and 20 indicate that she is announcing or prophesying that Pirithous and Theseus are to be freed. She may be talking to one or other of them but Carlini prefers to regard Aeacus as her partner in the dialogue. Luppe and Erbse (Carlini, art. cit. 166), however, see the female speaker as the wife of Heracles awaiting his return from the underworld. Even if the ascription to the *Pirithous* is correct, it is impossible to determine the position of the two fragments in the play.

Although obviously part of a dialogue between Heracles and Pirithous with a short intervention by the chorus, the exact import of our new fragment is far from clear, and makes us none the wiser about the action of the play. After a comment by the chorus, Heracles addresses Pirithous, probably referring to the latter's sufferings. This fragment alone of the six contains character-names; it is therefore possible that the dialogue has not long begun and that it was thought necessary to designate the characters clearly and avoid confusion with previous speakers. There is mention of ἄτη (13) and discussion about Pirithous' ability or inability to see and hear (14–27?). 19, in which Pirithous says that he has been asked about τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους, indicates that at the end of this fragment (26 ff.) he begins an account of his misfortunes. An obvious way to start would be to go back and describe his father's misfortunes; this is just what we have in 2078 fr. 1 (Snell F 5), which can, therefore, on grounds of content and from the fibre patterning be placed with reasonable certainty immediately below the new piece. The fibre pattern is not quite conclusive but if two reddish fibres occurring in both pieces are aligned on the back, the column edge on the front falls exactly into line. Moreover, the effect of ἄτη on

anything like certainty because if it is Ixion who is torn to pieces, this too would be an obscure variation. It is, however, conceivable that there is here some reference to Ixion perishing by centrifugal force, an idea which gains some slight support from Sch. Pindar, *Pythian* ii 40b, ὑπὸ γὰρ δίνης καὶ θυελλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξαρπαθέντα φθαρῆναι φασι (sc. ἔνοι). There are in addition two vases, an amphora from Cumae and a volute-crater from Ruvo which show Ixion on his wheel flanked by a winged female figure on either side. (F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten*<sup>3</sup> 529–30; E. Simon, 'Ixion und die Schlangen', *JÖAI* 42 (1955) 17–19, pls. 7–9). Interpretations of the figures vary, some seeing them as Erinyes, but if E. Simon is right in regarding them as winds, these representations could reflect, at least in part, such a version of the myth and thus accord well with the βορε[α of 17. A third vase (A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* i 338 no. 788; *CVA Museo Campano* i, pl. 18. 1, pl. 19 and 20. 1) has a single winged figure on the right of Ixion bound to his wheel. Although providing no evidence for Ixion's destruction, Virgil, *Geor.* iv 484, *atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis*, and Apollod. *Epit.* i 20, *Ζεὺς ἐνέδησε τροχῶ , ὅψ' οὐδὲν φερόμενος διὰ πνευμάτων ἐν αἰθέρι ταύτην τίνει δίκην*, nevertheless give further instances of the wind's part in the myth of the wheel.

Ixion (ἔπεμψεν ἄτη[ν, 2078 fr. 1. 8) will follow on well from the reference to ἄτη in the new fragment. Such an explanatory description at this stage adds support to the suggestion that Pirithous has not been taking part in the dialogue for very long.

As the new fragment is from the top of a column and fr. 1 from the bottom, there will have been 50 lines to a column, allowing for two lines lost at the top of fr. 1 where the recto fibres are stripped away. The roll was probably about 22 cm high. It would be a further advance if these two pieces could then be linked to fr. 2 and 3 but the fibres in the latter piece are in themselves too warped to allow one with any safety to follow them across a join into another fragment. Nevertheless, I would place both pieces in the early part of the play, for they contain exploratory or explanatory dialogue between the main characters, Heracles, Theseus, and Pirithous, of a kind that would set the scene for the whole play. Whether Heracles met Theseus before Pirithous, or vice versa, is unclear.

Unfortunately the new fragment contributes nothing to the vexed question of authorship.

All in all it must have been a strange play—a sort of cross between the *Prometheus Vinculus* and the *Frogs*. The hypothesis tells us that Pirithous was bound ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀκνήτω καθέδρα, and so for the greater part of the play, until he was freed, he will have remained fixed on the stage with all the action taking place round him. (For the question of whether the *ekkyklema* was used to reveal Pirithous to the audience at the beginning, cf. P. Bursian's remarks in *Ancient and Modern: Essays in Honor of Gerald F. Else* 90 n. 27 about Euripides' *Andromeda* and Aeschylus' *Prometheus Luomenos*.) In some versions of the myth both Pirithous and Theseus were bound down, but the clear implication of the hypothesis is that Theseus stayed behind, not because he was physically incapable of doing otherwise, but because he considered it dishonourable to leave his friend in the lurch. Indeed, to have two characters immovable on stage would be to limit the dramatic possibilities even further. As *dramatis personae* there are definitely established Pirithous, Theseus, Heracles, and Aeacus and perhaps Persephone. Like the *Alcestis* it had a happy ending and if the play is Euripidean, it must surely have been one of the several he wrote in the place of satyr-plays. The play was probably exploited by Aristophanes in the *Frogs* where Aeacus' irascible and abusive reception of Dionysus (464 ff.) may be a parody of the *Pirithous* (but cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967) 212 and 219). Moreover, the chorus in the *Frogs* is composed of initiates, whether of the Eleusinian or Dionysiac-Orphic mysteries, and this could reflect a chorus of similar composition in the *Pirithous*.

	Top		Top
	δρακοντ[		δρακοντ[
	τηνου[		τηνου[
	οργην.[		οργην.[
	επισταμ[		επίσταμ[αι
5	οψεξυνει. [. . . .]ο. . [	Xo(ρός)	ὄψέ ξυνεῖς [. . . .]ο. . [
	θεουςξεβεσ. . . .οτ[		θεοὺς ξεβεσθ. . . .οτ[
	ἰξείονοσπ. [. . .]. λαδ[	'H(ρακλής)	Ἰξείονος πα[ί, πο]λλὰ δ[
	ιδονλογωτηκουσα[		εἶδον λόγῳ τ' ἤκουσα [
	ουδενγυσουδεναη. [		οὐδ' ἐγγυς οὐδέν' ηἶ[
10	τηρηπελαζονταλ[		τῆς ἡ πελάζοντ' ἀλ[λ
	δυσπραξίαιτουσπ[		δυσπραξία τοὺς π[
	κκηψιντινητι. [		κκήψιν τιν' ηἶτι. [
	ατησαπρουπτως. [		ἄτης ἀπρούπτως. [
	ηδουκετεστασημο. [	Πει(ρίθους)	ἦδ' οὐκέτ' ἐστ' ἄσημος [οὐδὲ
15	ονειρατωδηςαλλ. [		ὄνειρατώδης ἀλλ' ο[
	ελλημιδιωδετολ. [		Ἑλλην' ἰδεῖν δὲ τὸν λέ[γοντ'
	οιοστανειηνηπεπτα. [		οἶός τ' ἂν εἶην, πέπτατ[αι
	αχλυσπαροιβητωνεμω[		ἀχλὺς πάροιθε τῶν ἐμῶ[ν ὄσσων
	αθλουσερωταιστουσεμ. [		ἄθλους ἐρωτᾶς τοὺς ἐμῶ[ν
20	γλωσσηγαρηχωτης. . πρ. . [		γλώσσης γὰρ ἤχῳ τῆςδε πρ. . [
	ουδεντιπαντωσθαυμ[	'H(ρακλής)	οὐδέν τι πάντως θαυμ[α
	απεστερησθαιεστινα. . [		ἀπεστερησθαί <ε> ἐστὶν α. . [
	καιφθεγμακαισχημα. [		καὶ φθέγμα καὶ σχῆμα. [
	πολλαδιηλθοντησε[		πολλὰ διήλθον τῆς ἐ[μῆς
25	καισηκαναμνησωδ. . [		καὶ σῆς· ἀναμνήσω δὲ. [
	σειγησιναρ[. . . .]. [	Π(ειρίθους)	σειγησιναρ[. . . .]. [
	φωσ[		φωσ[
	της[		της[

Unplaced fragment

]απολλααθ<sup>3</sup> ε[

3 . [ , lower part of right-facing curve; ε, θ, ο, σ 5 . [ , lower half of vertical and high trace to right  
. . [ , part of oblique pointing down to right? second, high trace, end of horizontal? 6 ε. . . , first, part of  
right-facing curve?; second, trace of vertical; third, horizontal with ink below at both ends; tiny trace or



smudge; fourth, base of vertical with oblique cutting across followed by second vertical probably with ink joining at base from left—v? Spacing after first may be wider because papyrus broken and slightly warped below 7 π. [, high trace+one low left. Again gap probably wider than appears ], merest trace. Only lower part of loop and right oblique of α 9 . [, vertical 12 . [, tiny low trace on frayed fibres 13 . [, two traces on separated fibres 14 . [, low trace 15 Stroke too thick for single vertical—very narrow o probable 16 . [, slight smudge only 17 . [, high trace. Offset ink below πτα and on horizontal fibre above α 19 . [, low trace 20 . . ., low trace of first, high of second . . . [, two traces level with tops of πρ 22 . . . [, two verticals+left of high horizontal; π. [, or ιτ[? 23 . [, two high traces, fairly close together, on single fibre 25 . . . [, base of vertical with foot turning to right; second, mid-trace 26 . . . [, between and below ωδ of 25 slightly smudged ink—perhaps two letters

1 δρακοντ[ must be part of δράκων, 'serpent', or of the aorist participle of δέρκομαι. Since a short vowel is needed to follow, an accusative, genitive, or dative singular or a nominative or accusative plural of either is possible. The reference in the hypothesis to Pirithous' being guarded δρακόντων χάσμασι might sway the balance in favour of δράκοντες or δράκοντας, 'serpents'.

2 τηρου[, either τηρ ου[ or τῆ νου[; if the latter, e.g. τῆ νου[θετεία.

The significance of the slanted obelus between 2 and 3 is unclear. Sometimes it is used to indicate an omission subsequently restored in the upper margin but in other examples its meaning is obscure. It may, like the dipele and obelus pericestigmenus, be used as a reference mark for a marginal annotation. (See K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri*, Diss. Ann Arbor (1977), 107–12 and n. 30, where she lists ten texts with this sign, and E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* 17.) We have an example of a marginal note in a small unplaced scrap, clearly belonging, from the large unwritten area above it, to an upper margin or more likely to the space between two columns. Although there is no example in McNamee, *ibid.* or *ead.*, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca*, *BASP Suppl.* 3, αθβ is surely part of ἀθετέω—perhaps τ]ὰ πολλά ἀθ(ετέει), or τ]ὰ πολλά ἀθ(ερείται); in the latter case the phrase could be supplemented with ἐν τῷ + a genitive, 'rejected as spurious in so-and-so's copy'. (Cf. ἐν τ(ῷ) Θέω(νος), IX 1174 and 1175 and E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 93 and n. 55 and McNamee, *Marginalia* 68–70.) Or τῶν ἀντιγράφ(ῶν) τ]ὰ πολλά ἀθ(ετέει), ἐ[ετὶ δέ, H.G.T.M. I am uncertain whether the hand is the same as that of the text but it is definitely not the second hand which added the obelus, the paragraphi, and character-names. Even if the stroke were added later to link text with previously written marginalia, there is no way of knowing whether this scrap relates to the present mark or not.

3 οργην. [, presumably ὀργην. [,

4 ἐπίσταμ[, either ἐπίσταμ[αι or ἐπιστάμ[εθα. Perhaps '... I understand the anger of the gods.' ... I learn from my fate what the anger of the gods is', P. J. Parsons. '... I understand how to ...', H.G.T.M., e.g. ὀργην ἐ[πίσχεω ... ἐπίσταμ[αι.

5–6 give us no clue to the identity of the members of the chorus. However, two lines quoted by Athenaeus (Snell F 2) to illustrate the word πλημοχόη, a vessel used on the last day of the Eleusinian mysteries, indicate that the chorus may have been composed of dead Eleusinian priests. This would provide a link with the incident mentioned in Apollod. ii 5. 12 and Diod. Sic. iv 25. 1 according to whom Heracles was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries before his descent to the underworld.

ξυνει. [, of the many verb forms beginning thus, the most appropriate is ξυνείε from συνίημι, which carries on the idea of ἐπίσταμαι. The trace excludes ξυνειη[ε.

The position of ]o suggests that it belongs to the first half of the 4th foot.

6 ζεβεε can only be part of ζέβομαι. Since another consonant is needed to make position, theta is the only possibility, although the trace does not immediately suggest it. The following letters are uncertain, but not apparently ζέβεεθαι.

οτ[, again in the first half of the 4th foot. The general sense might be, 'at last realizing what the gods' anger can do, you', or 'a mortal', 'learn to honour them'; or, 'you understand too late that reverence for the gods is the only sensible policy for mortal men'.

7 Ἰξίονος πα[ί, E. G. Turner. This address suggests that Pirithous is the speaker of 1–4. Heracles may of course be addressing Pirithous before the latter has himself spoken or after someone else has intervened but 1–6 seem appropriate to Pirithous and to a comment by the chorus on his situation.

λαδ[: αλδ looks more likely but is an impossible combination; alpha and lambda are similar in this hand. πο]λλά, E.G.T. and M. L. West. πα[ί, πο]λλά; a gap of three letters seems too wide but may be accounted for by slight warping of the papyrus. πο]λλά δ[ή και δειν' ἐγώ, M.L.W.

8 I. εἶδον. [πάσχοντα βροτούς, M.L.W.

9 ουδεναι. [: scriptio plena but πελάζοντ' elided in 10. ἡ[ε]χθόμεθα συμφορῆ, ἡ[ε]χθόμεν τύχη ποτέ, P.J.P.

7–10 'Son of Ixion, I have seen and heard by report many sufferings but have not known anyone approaching even close to your misfortune . . .'

10 αλ[, the most obvious possibility is ἀλλά. ἀλ[α] ὑπερβάλλεις μακρῶ, M.L.W. ἀλ[α] γέων ὑπερβολῆ, or ἀλ[καρ], H.G.T.M.

11 δυσπραξίαι. In fr. 1–5 there are no iotas adscript but the new fragment has one, in 19. So δυσπραξία and δυσπραξίαι are both possible.

τουεπ[: either τοῦ επ[ or τοῦ ε π[; to give the required caesura in the 4th foot, the second word, if a noun or adjective, will have to be a third declension genitive singular or accusative plural respectively. τοῦ ε π[άντα, M.L.W. τοῦ ε π[αἶδας H.G.T.M.

12 τῶν': either indefinite or interrogative but in view of 19, ἄθλους ἐρωτᾷς τοὺς ἐμο[ύς], this might be Heracles' inquiry as to how Pirithous came to be in this state and therefore would favour τῶν'. 'On what pretext are you enduring this punishment?'

ητι. [: possibilities include ἡ τίς, ἡ τίς, ἡ τις, ἡτις or even, P.J.P., κηψην τίνη (τίνομαι), though the last does not so obviously fit what sense we have.

13 ἀπροόπτως, usually occurring as ἀπροόπτως; a rare word (see *LSJ* s.v. ἀπροόπτως) with either an active or a passive sense, 'unforeseen, unexpectedly' or 'unforeseeing, unwary'. Perhaps Heracles is saying that Pirithous ought to have foreseen punishment of some kind but failed to do so and was therefore acting 'unforeseeing'; or it may be more general—'an excuse which blinds people to their fate'.

14–20 As P. J. Parsons suggests, the most economical interpretation would be to centre everything around the contrast between seeing and hearing. Pirithous is suffering and hears an indistinct sound (cf. Aesch. *PV* 115 where a sound is indistinct because it comes from far away; or because Pirithous is dazed from his sufferings); then he realizes that Greek is being spoken (16) but is unable to see the speaker (16–17). Pirithous: 'This sound is no longer indistinct nor like a dream; it is a voice, and Greek. But as for seeing the speaker, mist covers my eyes. Are you asking how I fell into misfortune? I can now hear what you are saying.' This interpretation would make the subject of 14–15 φωνή *vel sim.* (cf. 27?) and would explain why ἰδεῖν (16) is put emphatically first word. An alternative might be to have as subject an Erinys, perhaps mentioned in the missing parts of 12 or 13. This would connect with ἄτην in 13. With this, of course, is to be compared Aesch. *Choeph.* 1048 ff. where Orestes is the only person on stage to whom the Furies are visible. Hyginus 79. 3, *a Furris strati diuque lacerati sunt*, attests the presence of Furies in the story but as would be expected (cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* and *Eumen.*), there are several; and they attack both Pirithous and Theseus. The hypothesis, on the other hand, makes no mention of them or even of one. In a volute-crater from Ruvo (H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien* 33–4 and pls. 52–4) a single fury is depicted but she is attacking Theseus. If the play is parodied by Aristophanes in the *Frogs*, perhaps this creature, whatever her precise nature, is reflected in Empusa, the sight of whom so frightens Xanthias, *ibid.* 285 ff. Moreover Dionysus' question at 294 καὶ κέελος χαλκοῦν ἔχει; may be an allusion to a χαλκόπους *Ἐρυνός*, cf. *Soph. El.* 491 and the notes by J. van Leeuwen and W. B. Stanford in their editions of the *Frogs*.

14 ἦδ' or ἡ δ' possible. . . [, only a tiny trace remains but is quite compatible with sigma.

15 ἀλλ' ὅ [φωνήσας τάδε H.G.T.M.

16 The context requires Ἑλλην' ἰδεῖν δέ, rather than Ἑλληνι' δεῖν δέ, to provide a suitable infinitive to be construed with οἷός τ' ἂν εἶην. τὸν λέ[γοντα, E. W. Handley; τὸν λέ[γοντ' οὐκ ἂν σαφῶς, M.L.W.

17 The connection of πέπτατ[αι with ἀχλύς seems inevitable. 'I should not be able to see the speaker . . . for a cloud has spread before my eyes.' πέπτατ[αι γὰρ ἄσκοπος M.L.W.

18 ὄσων (or 17 πέπτατ[αι γὰρ ὀμμάτων) is the most likely supplement in view of the frequent image of a cloud or mist veiling the eyes (see *LSJ* s.vv. πετάννυμι and ἀχλύς).

19 Either a statement or a question is possible; see on 12.

20 ἦχώ can be nominative or accusative. προσ[βάλλει φρεσίν *vel sim.*, cf. *PV* 115, P.J.P. πρόσ [μ' ἀφίκετο H.G.T.M.

21 θαύμ[α: a form of the present tense of θαυμάζω is excluded on metrical grounds.

22 To cure the hiatus the simplest solution is to suppose the loss of an elided monosyllable before ἐετ[; c' is most likely in the context and in view of the sigma following.

ἐστὶν ἀπ. [ or ἐστὶν ἀπ. ] rather than ἐστὶ, etc.

23 *σχῆμα*: elision is necessary to provide the caesura. The plural *σχήματα* is unlikely to balance *φθέγμα*. Whose voice and form is uncertain but perhaps Heracles'. The idea of *φθέγμα* recalls *γλώσσης* in 20.

21-3 'It is no wonder you have been deprived of the ability to recognize my voice and shape?'

24-5 P.J.P. suggests, 'many a day has gone by since you and I last met; but I shall remind you . . .'. *ἀναμνήσω* does perhaps point to a long interval since their last meeting. A possible subject might be e.g. *ἡμέραι* and then at the end of 24 *ὀμιλίαι*. The difficulties are the vagueness of such a genitive and the lack of evidence in our sources for an earlier acquaintance of Pirithous and Heracles.

26 The connection of sense is now even more tenuous but continues with the idea of sound or lack of it. Possible articulations include *εὐγῆς ἐν' ἀρ*, *εὐγῆς ἕνα ῥ*, *εὐγῆ . . .*, *εὐγῆ . . .*, *εὐγῆεν*.

### 3532. MENANDER, *Epitrepontes*

45 5B.57/H(1-3)b

Fr. 1 12.0 × 16.0 cm

Second century

Fr. 3 4.5 × 12.9 cm

Three fragments, put together out of a much larger number, giving 24 half-verses in comic trimeters in each of two columns, identified as Menander, *Epitrepontes* by entirely satisfactory content and by the occurrence in fr. 3 of *Epitr.* fr. 7 (Körte) (the attribution was first made by Robert) in a context entirely suitable to it. At the same spot at Behnesa other literary verse texts were found in hands that at first appeared similar. Two, not the same hand, have been identified by Dr W. E. H. Cockle as parts of Homer, *Iliad* ix 156-67, and are not here reproduced. Another in a hand very like seems to contain parts of two gnōmai monostichoi in an erratic text. It is printed below as 3541.

Fragments 1+2 are from the head of a column (a tiny upper margin remains); fragment 3 has a free top margin of 1.6 cm and contains part of a second column. It is so badly worn (as may be judged from the plate) that had it not formed part of this roll it would not have been worth struggling with. Fragments 1+2 and fragment 3 cannot physically be combined into a single column, and such combination is in any case excluded by the recognition of fr. 7 Kö. in fr. 3.

That the play is *Epitrepontes* is confirmed by the content of fr. 1+2. The speaker at the opening (certainly at v. 7) is a woman talking of her arrival in her husband's house to be a partner in his life. Something has gone wrong with her marriage, but she will tolerate her husband setting up a second establishment, bestowing his favours on her rival (*ἐκείνη* vv. 12, 20, 23, 'the other woman'; the word had already been conjectured by Jensen at *Epitr.* 755 S), and her love will continue even if he divorces her. By v. 23 (see 20-3 nn.) there has been a change of speaker and a lowering of the moral plane of the argument. The tone of the speeches admirably suits the dialogue of Pamphile and Smicrines at the outset of Act IV of *Epitrepontes*. Moreover, the text at two places contains the exact words known from the Cairo codex to have been quoted reminiscently by Charisius, who has eavesdropped on the dialogue; and there are other verbal echoes. The dialogue continues in fr. 3 (which holds *Epitr.* fr. 7 Kö.) and is apparently still in progress when the text breaks off. The new text covers the dramatically central exchange between Pamphile and Smicrines lost from the Cairo codex. It is often not

possible to restore Menander's exact words with certainty; but useful diagnostic guesses can be made about the dramatic development of the argument and the terms in which it was couched. In consequence, a high value attaches to these scrappy pieces, in which only rarely is a complete trimeter open to certain conjecture.

The scribe wrote with a thick pen (capable of fine strokes when drawn horizontally along the line of its sharpened edge) a rounded, heavily made, somewhat mannered, monumental handwriting, strictly bilinear (except for phi), of medium size. Some letters have elaborate heavy beginners and finials and link-strokes, and may easily be confused (the third letter of fr. 1. 3 was read as tau till very late in work on this text; indeed it looks like tau). Both gamma and tau can show a linking stroke to the following letter in the form of an upturned arc; the arms of the bold hypsilon may cross on the lower line, or the letter may be cupped and stand on a heavy base. It is similar in style but not so monumental as 2388 (XXIV pl. iii, Alcman) or P. Bodmer XXVII. Closer still is the writing of the scribe of PSI X 1197 and II 226, Xenophon, *Hellenica* (the hand in these two recognizably the work of the same scribe; moreover, both are written in narrow columns of 25 lines—successive rolls, therefore, even if not the same roll). The hand of PSI 1197 + II 226 is somewhat laboured, but sufficiently similar to that of 3532 to raise the question whether they are identical. Some letters are similar (the heavy club-footed hypsilon), but others differ slightly. In PSI 1197 + 226, the cross bar of epsilon is higher, the first movements of alpha are more wedge-shaped, kappa has more widely spaced arms, omega may carry an additional final loop, tau lacks the arc-like link characteristic of 3532. No positive answer can be given on the basis of such small specimens. The difference may be no more than those due to different times and conditions of writing, or different periods in the scribe's career.

3532 has no punctuation or critical signs; no marks survive to indicate change of speaker (presumably they would have shown as paragraphus at line-beginnings and central/final dicolon). Iota adscript is written in the dative. Words are usually elided without mark (fr. 1. 7, 11, 16 *bis*, 17 *bis*, 19), but *scriptio plena* is found (fr. 3. 8). One clear error (*αιθηεται* fr. 1. 19) is uncorrected; the presence of another may reasonably be suspected (fr. 1. 21 note).

In PSI 1197 + II 226 the column consists of 24 lines, and 24 lines survive in 3532; the former is a prose work written in narrow columns, the latter is verse in relatively long lines. Notwithstanding this difference, it is plausible<sup>1</sup> to suppose that the loss at the foot of 3532 fr. 1+2 and fr. 3 amounted to only a few lines (perhaps only one or two). Did fr. 3, which also begins at the head of a column and survives to about the same height, contain the column immediately following that in fr. 1+2? Such fibres as are unambiguously recognizable in fr. 3 could be the continuation of those of fr. 1+2; but the abraded surface of fr. 3 makes perilous a more definite statement, whether for or

<sup>1</sup> It is relevant to recall that in the Sophocles *Ichneutae* and *Eurypylos* rolls (IX 1174, 1175) 'the columns . . . contain from 26 to 27 lines', A. S. Hunt, IX p. 30. The beautiful first-century Callimachus in elegiacs published as XI 1362 has 25 lines to the column.

against. The context makes it unnecessary to assume that a lost column intervened, but the possibility cannot be excluded on physical grounds. It is likely (see below) that fr. 3 followed fr. 1 + 2. The lacuna at this point in the Cairo codex has been calculated at 93 lines; this figure would not allow more than three columns in the hand of 3532 to be positioned in the gap. A fourth column would be expected to show some overlap of text. To a critic reconstituting the play immediate continuation of fr. 1 + 2 by fr. 3 would be welcome and seems plausible enough. Fr. 3 explores in detail the problems offered by 'the other woman' (ἐκείνη) and of the two households broached in fr. 1 + 2 and in the last usable page of the Cairo codex. This same consideration seems to exclude a placing of fr. 3 before fr. 1 + 2.

By good fortune during work on 3532, another fragmentary papyrus was recognized as containing parts of fr. 3 and also of *Epitr.* fr. 7 Kō. It is published below as 3533. The pieces support each other so usefully that the diplomatic transcript of 3532 fr. 3 is saved up for publication under 3533. There a diplomatic transcription is given on the left-hand page of both 3532 and 3533 in alternate lines; a reconstructed text is offered on the facing page.

3532 and 3533 give the *coup de grâce* to the theory that the Didot *rhesis* is part of *Epitr.* The point was made in passing by E. G. Turner, *CdE* 54 (1979) 124, where these two papyri are alluded to.

I wish to acknowledge the ready help offered in answer to queries by E. W. Handley, who has also improved text and interpretation at a number of points. At an early stage during cleaning I also had the benefit of Dr Cockle's eyesight.

Fr. 1	Top	Fr. 2	
. . .	], οικαι . ε[	(Pamphile)	]. και . ε[
. [ .	]τυχωνεπιδοσθ[	. [ .	]τυχων επιδοσθ[αι
. [ .	]γεινδεδ . [ . . ] . υτξ[	]υπ[	φ[υ]γειν δε δε[ιω ] ουτξ[
. [ .	]μενγαρεπ . . αρτ[	] . ας[	ξ[ω]μεν γαρ . επιμαρτ[υρομαι
5 . [ .	]ηκασαπ . [ . . ] . ου[	]λε[	. [ . ]ηκασ απο[λι]που[σαν
	διατουτοποτερον . [		δια τουτο ποτερον . [
	συνευτυχησουςαν . [		συνευτυχησους' ανδ[ρι
	αυτωιπροιδωματογ[		αυτωι προιδω; μα τον [
	κοινωνοσληθοντ[		κοινωνος ηλθον τ[ου βίου
10	επταικενοικωτουτ[		επταικεν; οϊσω τουτ[
	δνοικιασοικουντα . [		δυ' οικιασ οικουντα . [
	προσεχοντεκεινη . [		προσεχοντ' εκεινηι [
	αλλειμενετερονμε . [		αλλ' ει μεν ετερον με . [
	μηθενοδυννηρομη[		μηθεν οδυννηρον μη[δ
15	καλωσχειμοιτουτ[		καλωσ εχει μοι τουτ[
	ειδεσταδηλοντουτ[		ει δ' εστ' αδηλον τουτ[ο
	ταντειστοιανθηξου[		ταυτ', εις τοιαυθ' ηξου[ca
	αλλεγβαλειμετωιχ . [		αλλ' εγβαλει με; τωι Χα[ρισιωι υ -
	αιθησεταιενουνοσ[		αι<ς>θησεται ενουνοσ[αν
20	. . . . ωνεκεινηνε . [	(Smicrines?)	. . . . ων εκεινηνε ε . [
	. . . ] . ν·θτανγαρπρο . [		. . . ] . νθ· <ο>ταν γαρ προ . [
	. . ]ρατοχειρονραδιω . [		. . ]ρα το χειρον ραδιω . [
	. ]μασεκεινηδιαβ[		η]μας εκεινη διαβ[αλει
	. . . ] . θεν . [ . ]αβ[ . ]λλη[		. . . ] . θεν δ[ι]αβ[α]λλη[

1 . . . , low ink, compatible with α . ε[, obliques of λ or δ . 2 . [ . , low ink . ]τ, merest right-hand tip of crossbar of τ . 3 . [ . , half a circle facing right, ghostly hasta above and below indicate φ; not α . ] . . , ο, ε . 4 . [ . , points of high and low ink, ζ indicated . Dr Cockle once saw a paragraphus between 3 and 4, but a doubling back of lower scrief of φ accounts for the ink . π not unshakable, but not ιτ or τι; then part of vertical (line or curve); before αρτ (τ read by Cockle) oblique and finial descending below line, tail of μ? . 5 . [ . , high and low ink . ]η, horizontal link to η at level of cross-bar . [ . , indeterminate . ] . , π in black ink, second hasta over tall left-facing curve in grey ink (? false correction to θ attempted) . 6 . [ . , a vertical . 7 . [ . , high and low dot, δ acceptable . 11 . [ . , arms of χ, υ . 12 . [ . , a vertical . 13 . [ . , a vertical . 18 . [ . , υ, λ, α . 20 First letter has horizontal along top line, π, τ, γ; next ρ, ο, ι? then tops of at most two letters . 21 . [ . , ?ο ν·θτ point of high ink between nu and theta recovered by P.J.P., 'seemingly too far to the left to be an accent or breathing on a following omicron-miswritten-as-theta;

a turned-over bit seems to give blank papyrus to the right. Not a double point, unless the lower point came at mid-height, where a narrow strip of fibres is off.  $\pi\rho\rho$ ,  $\rho$  anomalous, perhaps corrected from  $\epsilon$  or  $\eta$ ; then  $\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa$ ? 24 ], high loop (?  $\rho$ ) preferable to simple link stroke ], apex of  $\delta$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$  in ]λλη first  $\lambda$  somewhat upright

fr. 1 + 2: fr. 2 has been aligned in the position shown by Dr Cockle, based on fibre continuations between it and fr. 1. It could be put further to the right, and even on the left, if the horizontal alignment is preserved. No account of it has been taken in proposing restorations.

Pamphile is certainly the speaker at l. 7 *κωνευτυχέου*. If there is any palaeographical evidence for supposing her to be the speaker also of ll. 1–6, it is concealed by the damaged line-beginnings. However, there is every reason to suppose she speaks these too. The lofty moral sentiments are unlikely to have been uttered by Smicrines, but are what is expected from Pamphile. Moreover, the words *ἀτυχῶν* 2, *φ[υ]γείν* 3 are picked up later by Charisius.

At 719 S, Smicrines declared to Pamphile *τρία δέ σοι προθήσομαι*. In 3532 fr. 1 two hypothetical questions are put forward and answered (10 *ἔπταικεν* 'granted he is engaged in an affair with another woman', 18 *ἀλλ' ἐγβαλεῖ με* 'what if he divorces me?'). They could be a recapitulation of the second and third of Smicrines' triad. If so, ll. 1–9 might be part of the answer to the first of Smicrines' three, which might well be (cf. the pointers in 721, 754 S) that she will suffer pain. Her reply seems to be that pain is part of the human condition, we (mortals? women?) must steel ourselves to it (3–4 n.).

1–22 (20?): continuous *rhesis* of Pamphile. She is in the middle of a reply to Smicrines, whose badly preserved speech peters out at 758 S. Charisius is eavesdropping on the scene.

1 e.g. *δ φ[α]σι*, then *λέ[γ]ουσι*, *δε[δογμένον vel sim.* Presumably a *δοτι* or its equivalent has preceded *δ*, e.g. *πεπίστευμαι δ'* (or *οὐ πέπιστ.*) *δοτι*. Some current philosophical dogma has been taken up by Pamphile. I hope others can identify it.

2 A letter occupied more space when it is the first to be written in a line, and it is quite likely that only *ἀτυχῶν* stood here. The term is picked up by Charisius' *ἀτυχής γεγονώς* 918 applied to himself, then at 921 more significantly in quotation from Pamphile's words *κ[ο]ὺ δεινὸν τἀτύχημ' αὐτὴν φυγεῖν* | [*τὸ συμβ*]εθηκόσ.

After *ἐπιδόσθ[ι]*, e.g. *ἀνθρωπος ἐπ' ἀρετῆν*  $\sim \times$ .

3–4 *φ[υ]γείν* is guaranteed by 921. Thereafter everything is uncertain: *δε[ῖν]* (i.e. change of construction in reported speech; for the word cf. 921) or *δε[ῖν]* ('perils')? *δε[ῖν]* cannot be excluded, but is awkward to handle. *ζώμεν γάρ* 4 implies that Pamphile is supporting out of her own experience the moral principle she has previously enunciated. The words need not stand on their own, or in a question such as *οὐ ζώμεν γάρ*; as I had envisaged. E. W. Handley suggests that *γάρ* is postponed. He punctuates after *δε[ῖν]* and continues e.g. *οὐ τε[ρπνόν] -  $\times$  - βίον* | *ζώμεν γάρ*. Thereafter *ἐπιμαρτ[ύρομαι]*, proposed as reading by Handley, fulfils the palaeographical conditions. The restoration *ἐπιμαρτ[ύρομαι] καυτόν, πατέρ* (E.G.T.) would then offer an easy transition to v. 5. Pamphile would be turning from her own experience of life to her father, in particular to his past actions, and using them to block what she fears most, a suggestion that she marry a new husband of his choice.

4–5 The link of thought is not stated till 6 (*διὰ τοῦτο*). *ἀπο[λι]ποῦσαν* E. W. Handley (for my *ἀπε[ι]ποῦσαν*, which unnecessarily postulates a metrical error of the scribe). 'As witness I call on your own self, father: you released me and I left my home for that reason.' The pronoun *ἐμέ* is a desirable part of any restoration, whether immediately following *ἀπολιποῦσαν* or at verse end.

6 ff. 'Then am I who came to his house to share my joy with my husband [now to stay] or to ensure trouble for him? By [Hymenaeus (?)], at that moment I entered as partner of his life.'

7 Articulation and punctuation suggested by E. W. Handley. The future participle requires an introductory verb of motion (e.g. *πότερον εἰσεληλυθὺν ἐγώ*); *αν* [ suggests *ἀνδ[ρ]ί*; before 8, the alternative deliberative question must be introduced, e.g. *ἢ κακόν* at verse end. What is the first deliberative subjunctive?

*κωνευυχέω*, cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 1119.

8 *προῖδω* 'envisage', 'take thought for', i.e. cause.

*μὰ τὸν* [*Υμέναιον* would be an acceptable addition to the list of male deities sworn to by women, cf. T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* 99.

9 *κοινωνός ἦλθον τοῦ βίου*: the words are quoted by Charisius, 920 S. Cf. E. G. Turner, *CdE* 54 (1979) 123. The verse could end (and 921 begin) *πρὸς οἰκίαν*.

10 *ἔπταικεν*: for the verb *πταίω* cf. below 915 *ἔπταικότα* (Charisius applies to himself a verb that also

describes the conduct of Pamphile in bearing a child); *Dysk.* 809. For the concessory perfect, cf. e.g. *Dysk.* 494. The perfect tense is apt for a continuing affair.

End of verse, e.g. *τοῦτ[ον] ἤδη πεντάκις*, with comic exaggeration.

11 *δύ' οἰκίας*: Pamphile takes up the challenge of Smicrines' argument, 749 ff. The verse end calls for [ *τόν τε νοῦν*], of sexual attentions, *Mis.* A85, P. G. McC. Brown, *CR* 30 (1980) 6. These needed words exclude X[*αρίσιον*] as restoration after *τοῦτ[ον]*.

13 I have no plausible suggestion for the first supposition (*μὲν*). Since the alternative depends on a fact unknown to either Smicrines or Pamphile (*ἀδελφόν*), the first alternative is not a straightforward course of action open to either of them, certainly therefore not a second marriage (*ἔτερον*, sc. *γάμον*) for Pamphile. Both Smicrines and Pamphile are still keeping secrets from each other as well as guessing at Charisius' intention and his actual conduct (for instance, will he have or has he had a child by the second woman?); I see no profit in speculating on the doublet matching *ὀδυσσῆρόν*, on the subject of the sentence and of the presumably concessory participle that is to be restored. *καλῶς ἔχει μοι* is normally 'a formula of polite refusal', cf. F. H. Sandbach on *Pk.* 516.

16–17 Punctuation after *ταῦτ'* and restoration of *ἤξου[σα]*, E. W. Handley, with sense 'I shall cross that fence when I come to it'. End of 16 e.g. [*κεί περιγύνηται*].

18 The form *εγβ-* for *εκβ-* is regularly written in papyri of the 3rd cent. B.C., Maysen-Schmoll 1 i<sup>2</sup> p. 199, 3a.

Is this the third point in Smicrines' triad? 'But suppose he divorces me? (She) will find that I remain loyal to Charisius.'

*τῶι Χα[ρίσιω]* is acceptable in 18. Followed by e.g. *γ' ἐμέ*. Stop at *οἶδ[αν]* in 19; this would be a dramatically effective ending for Pamphile's speech. If a rhetorical close is sought, it might be the general gnome of l. 21; but if a contrast to *τὸ χεῖρον* is restored in that verse, a sentiment is expressed that jars on the audience's conception of Pamphile's modesty. (I had thought e.g. *ὄσταν γάρ πρὸς [τὸ κάλλιον βλέπη] φω]ρῆ τὸ χεῖρον βραδίας*. But *φω]* is probably too long for the space. The Press Reader suggests *ῶ]ρα* governing an infinitive at verse-end, of which *τὸ χεῖρον* is object.) In the mouth of Smicrines, it is a grudging tribute to her case. And it can easily be preceded by an assessment of Charisius' conduct in cash terms which could only be voiced by Smicrines.

The cogent argument for a change of speaker before the column ends is the plural [*ῆ]μάς*, l. 23. Pamphile has used first person singular both of herself and her father (*ἀ[φ]ήκας* 5).

I am inclined to begin Smicrines' speech at 19 after *οἶδ[αν]*. The participle in 20 must have Charisius as subject, who will then be subject of [*πέπ]ονθ'* (3rd person) in 21. The emendation [*πέπ]ονθ' <δ>ταν* is attractive, even though it assumes a chain of scribal error (point inserted at wrong place, haplographic omission of omicron). A simpler solution is that theta is a miswriting of omicron (both round letters), i.e. read  $\omega \sim \theta$  - *ῶν ὄσταν γάρ*; however, substitution of theta for omicron is odd when it produces an unpronounceable jumble. In 20 *ἀγαπῶν* was not written (see app. crit.), nor was *ποθῶν* (too short in any case). The sense would be given by [ *πλεῖονος*] | *τιμῶν*, a financial appreciation of Charisius by a mean man, followed at end of 20 by e.g. *τᾶξιον* | *πέπονθ(ε)*: 'in rating the other woman at a higher price than you he has got the bargain he deserves'. I cannot assert that *τιμῶν* was written in 20.

23 [*ῆ]μάς*: the damage to himself likely to result from Pamphile's obstinacy is uppermost in Smicrines' worldly mind. The thought leads neatly into the contrasted behaviour of free woman and kept woman which is the subject matter of fr. 3 and *Epitr.* fr. 7 Kō. and strongly indicates that fr. 3 (plus 3533) contains the immediately following column.

fr. 3 Text, diplomatic transcription, critical and exegetical notes are set out under 3533.

3533. MENANDER, *Epitrepontes*

62 6B.77/H(1-3)e

6.3 × 18.0 cm

Second century

Written across the fibres in an informal rounded upright hand of medium size. Mainly bilinear. The letters tend to be taller than they are broad (as in e.g. XXXI 2611), and the lines of writing are remarkably widely spaced (19 lines occupy 15.5 cm). The hand should probably be assigned to the later second century after Christ. Iota adscript is not written. An apostrophe is used to mark elision. There is no evidence what marks were used to differentiate speaking characters (cf. below). An unusual feature is the employment of a bold oblique dash to mark clause ending. Its occasional position on the line (e.g. 2, 6, 7, 8), that is, not always slightly above it, and the accompanying empty space show it to be the work of the copying scribe. I am inclined to think its purpose is not punctuation or part division but as a divider to aid reading aloud or dramatic delivery. This type of divider is seen in a wooden tablet in Berlin, *Il.* ii. 147-162, illustrated in W. Schubart, *Das Buch*<sup>2</sup> 23, Abb. 4 (first line inaccurately copied in E. Ziebarth, *Aus d. antiken Schule* 12 no. 28), in a wooden tablet in the Vatican containing Psalms (R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 97-104, Taf. III A, B) and in a number of biblical papyri (cf. E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 88, note 14; add F. G. Kenyon, *Chester Beatty* fasc. vii, text p. ix and elsewhere). Kenyon loc. cit. calls them 'reading marks', which is a truer description than 'word-dividers', since what are marked off are sound groups (such as preposition, article, or καί and its noun, noun and enclitic). In a dramatic text, such a mark might aid 'delivery' by an actor or mime. 3533 is the only papyrus known to me in which the mark is on the line followed by a space, that is, part of the exemplar

3532 fr. 3

3533

1		]caδ[
2		].....ακ[
3		]ραμνθ[. . ]ντοτ[
1	1	]ταυτη παραμυθιον ποτε[
4		]νουθε[. . . ]σα[
2	2	]παζουσα/νουθετουσ'αιει[
5		]ατ.....κ[
3	3	]..[.]. ουσασχη.....σακεκα. [

For 3532 it is a waste of time to describe flecks of ink on the abraded surface. Letters are printed with a dot when I have judged sufficient ink remains for identification.

- 3532 1 δ[ represented by base-line and apex  
2 4 places before ακ perhaps ο  
3 Final τ represented by high ink

copied: perhaps an acting edition or selection. It should be observed that unsystematic positioning of these dividers adds an extra hazard to calculations of space for restoration.

The text is written across the fibres. On the other side at its right hand edge are traces of 9 irregularly spaced lines, apparently Latin, presumably from a register. Only in l. 8 (*Ar*[ or *Ra*[) are letters identifiable.

The contents offer the middles of 19 lines of trimeters beginning at the head of a column. The text overlaps that of 3532 fr. 3 and is satisfactorily identified thereby as Menander *Epitrepontes*. It offers a satisfactory context for the previously attributed *Epitr.* fr. 7 Kō. on which see the introduction to 3532. The actual decipherment of both texts has been advanced by continual reciprocal comparison. 3532 is faintly written and the ink at many places has been completely rubbed off, especially at the top and the left-hand side; 3533 at its foot has been torn into two badly buckled strips, the identifiable letters in which can be positioned from calculations derived from 3532. It has therefore seemed useful to the reader to give a conjoint diplomatic transcript of the two texts line by line, 3532 being set down first. A conjoint critical apparatus follows. On the facing page an edited reconstruction of Menander's text is attempted.

The principle followed (to avoid subjective reconstruction instead of a record of observed facts) has been to work backwards from the relatively certain right-hand edge in setting out 3532; in 3533 to work forwards from the more or less perpendicular left-hand edge (itself 10 letters or so from the start of the verse as shown by 3532 7, 8 = 3533 5, 6). The resulting relative placing is probably not accurate letter for letter, but is not more than one letter wrong in either direction.

3	1	(Sm.)	]ταυτη παραμύθιόν ποτε [
---	---	-------	--------------------------

4	2	]παζουσα νουθετουσ'αιει [
---	---	---------------------------

5	3	]ουσα σχήμά τ' ἐξίσακε καθ' [ἐν,
---	---	----------------------------------

3533 1 ]τ, tip of crossbar possibly ink after ποτε[, e.g. ι or /  
2 ] compatible with μ, ω

3 ] . [ dot on line, then part of descender ] before ο, high ink and descender σχη clear; after traces of 4 letters either ξ or ζ (ξ preferred), then vertical slightly curved as of second ellipse of ο, first of ν, or slightly bowed ι; before α, separate high and low traces like ε of τουσ' 3533 2; ακεκ inescapable, then α by elimination (not λ, since there is a trace of low 'horizontal' at both ends, but this 'horizontal' is not level enough for baseline of δ) [ θ preferred, ε, ε not to be excluded

6 ]χ. . επονπαμ[  
 4 ]ραλυσεισε/χαλεπονπαμ[  
 7 ]ορννημα[  
 5 ]ναιικιπροσπορννημαχ[  
 8 ], αριθεν. [  
 6 ]ουργει/πλεϊ[. ]νοιδ' /αιςχ[  
 9 ], αιςχω. [  
 7 ]λακευειμαλλον/ αιςχω. [  
 10 ]τ. γπυθ[  
 8 ]./ νυνταυ. . ζοιτηνπυθ[  
 11 ], [ . ] . ]μεινα[  
 9 ] . . μιζ' ακρειβωσσομεν[  
 12 ] . . ομμ[  
 10 ]μενητου . . π. ντι . . [  
 13 ] . . . . . [  
 11 ] . οντοςποησαικουποτ' αυ[  
 14 ], νπεπλα[  
 12 ] . . . [ ] γνωμηνλεγεινπ. [  
 15 ] . . [ . . ] . κυμπερε[  
 13 ]τιποτ' ηχεισυμ[  
 16 ]νειε . . [  
 14 ]γαρφ. ογεινει[  
 17 ]παρισταμενη[  
 15 ]κια[ . . ] ρισταμ[

3532 8 ] . a (and therefore *scriptio plena*) is unambiguous

3533 6 ' / was a later insertion (at first read as interlinear *ου*, a nonsensical correction)

7 . [ foot of vertical

8 After *ταυ* high horizontal, ink below, then peak of *α* or apostrophe before *ς*, disturbed fibres and low ink (? misplaced, difficult to accept as *φ*) *ς*, part of high and low convergent curves, not *κ*, *ρ*

9 ] . . top of vertical, then top of rising oblique (as of *υ*, less probably *κ*, not *ν*) then curving ink on line before *μ*

3532 12 Not *π* ] αρομμ[

3533 10 From *του* junction at high level, high descending ink, not *ς*, *τ* likely of *π*, the feet, then low loop as of *α* end, *το* or *πο*[

6 4 πα]ραλύσει σε. χαλεπόν, Παμ[φίλη,  
 7 5 ἐλευθέρα γυ]ναικί πρὸς πόρνην μάχ[η.  
 8 6 πλείονα κακ]ουργεί, πλεί[ο]ν' οἶδ', αἰςχ[ύ]νεται  
 οὐδέν, κο]λακεύει μάλλον, αἰςχρῶν [ . . .  
 9 7  
 10 8 ] . νὺν ταυτα ζοι τήν Πυθ[ίαν  
 11 9 ] . . μιζ' ἀκριβῶς ἐσόμενα  
 12 10 ]μενη τοῦτο παντι . . . . [  
 13 11 ] . οντος ποήσαις οὔποτ' ἄν [  
 14 12 ] . . [ ] γνώμην λέγειν πεπλα[σμένην  
 15 13 οἷ]τι ποθ' ἡγεί κυμφέρε[ιν  
 16 14 ] γὰρ φρονεῖν ει[  
 17 15 οἷ]κία[ν] παρισταμένη[

3532 13 Last letter may be *θ*

3533 11 ] . κ, *ς* γ[ sloping ascender

12 ] . . [ high loop, then two high verticals, second perhaps a leg of *ν* ] *βμ*[ / ] or ] *ην*[ / ] possible (for looped *η* cf. *η* of *ποησαις* 3533 11) fibres disturbed at *ν* of *ειν*, but two apparent uprights of *ν*

3532 16 After *ινε* upright (? *ι*), space and second upright (*μ*, *ν*)

3533 14 Disturbed fibres, *φ* acceptable (traces of circle and descender), then traces of high loop (? *ρ*), big *ο*, first vertical of *ν* lost

18		]ομαλλονεπ. [
16		]εσ. [ ]λλο[
19		]δυνατονδοκει[
17		]υπ[ ]ον. [
20		]ηκυιαντυχη. [
18		]ηδ[ ]αν[
21		]ωμενδευτερ. [
19		]... [ ]δε[
22		]αιτιοντουτο[
20		]... [
23		]νολιγοιεεχ[ broken
24		]... [ ]... [ broken

3532 18 ]ο complete loop, followed by bowed link, not μμ end λ or α

3533 16 ] [ ο, θ, α

3532 20 ]η two verticals and probably horizontal junction [ ink, presumably ν

3533 18 ] high loop as of ρ or else apostrophe, then two verticals and residual trace of link between them in loop at top of second, η better than ν (cf. *ποιηαις* 11), following letter δ (only alternative ζ, not good; β excluded)

Displacement to the right of letters in 3533 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 indicates a lost oblique dash earlier in the line (l. 9 demonstrates this loss clearly). Given normal spacing, 10 letters should be supplemented at the line beginnings (so 3533 5 and 6).

The loss between this column in 3532 and the foot of the preceding column is probably small, as already argued.

3/1 The speaker is probably Smicrines. *εε* of 6/4 must be applied to Pamphile and not in self-address (the following vocative is for emphasis, not to show change of speaker). Before that point there is no hint of a change of speaker, and *παράλσει εε* seems to be the climax of a developed antithesis between the two types of women which culminates in the worldly wisdom of 6-9/4-7. But I can find no toehold adequate to give a sure syntactical form to this antithesis in 4-5/2-3. *νουθετοῦς* 'lecturing' looks like an unwinnable trait, and should therefore characterize Pamphile. If so, *κυθρ]ωπάζουσα* (cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 7) might precede, but would leave no room for the desired third member in an asyndeton. The subject of *ἐξίσακε* (if the word is rightly restored) can only be Pamphile's rival. I should expect it to be capped by e.g. [*μᾶλλον δὲ πα]*ραλύσει *εε* (cf. *μᾶλλον δὲ κἀγώ*, *Pk.* 999), 'not merely that—she will paralyse you'. 3/1 is capable of several articulations (note that in 3533 13 the scribe neglects the aspirate, so that θ' *αὔτη* is available as reading as well as *αὐτῆ* or *ταύτη*). But the reference can hardly be to Pamphile's rival, for which *ἐκεῖνη* is needed. Might it be *σύ*? τ' *αὐτῆ*? The scribe of 3533 did not understand a comma between *νουθετοῦς* and *αἰεῖ* (cf. *Dysk.* 31) or he would have inserted a dash. In 3533 1 and 2 it is not by any means certain that *ποτε* (3532 *τότε*) and *αἰεῖ* were either the last words of the line or the last words written. At 1 *ποτ' εἰ*, *ποτ' εἰ*, at 2 a dash are possibilities. *παραμύθιον* noun does not seem to be used elsewhere by Menander. In 4/2 *κο]μπάζουσα* is attractive palaeographically, but there are many other possibilities.

18	16	]εσθ[', αὐτ]ὸ (? )μᾶλλον επ. [
19	17	λ]ύπ[ησ ἀ]δύνατον δοκεῖ [
20	18	]ηδ[. . . ]ηκυῖαν τύχηγ [
21	19	]... [ ]ωμεν δευτερ. [
22	20	]αιτιον τουτο[
23		]ν ὀλίγοις ἐχ[

3532 21 ] [ anomalous as ο (half-height)

3533 19 ]εῖ εῖ[ all doubtful: 1. top of looped curve, 2. vertical, 3. apostrophe or loop of rho, 4. left-facing curve, presumably vowel (ε, ο)

3532 22 ] γ rather than τ

3533 20 High horizontal, would suit τ

5/3 The reading *ἐξίσακε* (perfect of *ἐξικάζω*, according to LSJ not previously recorded till Strabo) has been reached by elimination. I can find no word beginning *κεκα-* which might allow a feminine participle to precede. Parallels for the unusual scansion in the third metron *ἐξίσακε* : *καθ' ἔν* are given by E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* 68.

The articulation *εχημά τ'* is a proposal of Professor Handley, offering a use of the proverbial *καθ' ἔν εχημα* found in Aristoph. *Frogs* 539 and in the rhetoricians (passages in L. Radermacher, *A. Frütsche* 220): supplying *εε* as object, the meaning suggested is 'she has made you conform to a single pattern'. The collocation *κ. ε. ε.* is tempting, and one day further evidence may confirm it. I had myself articulated *εχηματ'* (object of the preceding participle) *ἐξίσακε καθ' ἔν*, translating '... by her postures she has out-matched you point for point', and supposed there was an oblique reference to sexual positions, *εχηματα συνουσιαστικά*.

6/4-9/7 = Epitr. fr. 7 Kō. (Men. fr. 566 Kock). 'It's a hard task, Pamphile, for a free woman, a battle with a call-girl. She is up to more dirty tricks, is more knowing, ashamed not at all, flatters the more, draws the line at nothing.' The papyri confirm Dobree's transposition (*Adv.* 290) of *πλείονα κακουργεί*, and the second of his suggestions for the position of *αἰσχύνεται*, i.e. at the end of the trimeter. They offer no evidence to help decide between *οὐδέν* and *οὐδένα* as the following word. I have printed *οὐδέν*. Whichever word stood first in 9/7 would have been followed in 3533 by oblique stroke and space.

9/7 *αἰσχρῶν* [ : e.g. *ἄπτεται, ἀπέχεται* (the second would require a negative supplement in 10/8).

10-11/8-9 The reference is to the proverbial utterance usually given as *ταῦτά σοι καὶ Πόθια καὶ Δήλια*, said to have been used elsewhere by Menander, namely in *Heauton tim.* = fr. 134 Kō., where the testimonia and lemmata are set out (but the citation from the *Suda* is inaccurate: there too read *καὶ Π. καὶ Δ.*, with repeated *καί*, see Suidas iv pp. 268, 510 Adler). In Smicrines' mouth, the quotation is a ponderous way of saying 'Your

last hour has come', 'You have met your Waterloo'. The lemma in the *Suda* and Photius has it that Polycrates of Samos, about to celebrate the Pythian games and games at Delos at the same time, sent to inquire of Apollo at Delphi whether his celebration would be at the proper season: τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν ἀνελεῖν "ταῦτά σοι καὶ Πύθια καὶ Δῆλια", βουλομένην δηλοῦν ὅτι ἔρχεται.

Editors normally write ταῦτα. In Körte-Thierfelder l.c. the reading ταῦτά is canvassed (but note *ibid.* addenda, 291, a suggestion of H. Erbse's: 'ταῦτα digitorum crepitum significare censet Erbse coll. Athen. 530bc [a report of the statue of Sardanapallos standing on his tombstone *κυμβεβληκότα τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους ὡς ἂν ἐπικροτοῦντα*']). I do not know whether the Pythia could have (or be thought to have) snapped her fingers. But in the form Menander chooses here ταῦτά would be more pointed (indeed ἐκόμμενα seems to demand it). Of course Menander may have played with the wording of his original. I am puzzled about how to fit it syntactically into 11/9. [Δῆλι' ἀνελεῖν] νόμιζε would be a convenient supplement at the beginning if it were ταῦτα. ταῦτά requires the article with either τὰ Δῆλι' or τοῖς Δηλίοις.

νόμιζε seems not to have been written by the scribe at 3533 g; but an imperative is essential to support the accusative τὴν Πυθίαν and its participle. I do not see how to avoid postulating a scribal error, ]ν<ό>μιζ'. The adverb ἀκριβῶς should, on the analogy of Menandrian usage, go closely with the postulated imperative, but the resulting sense is scarcely affected. 3532 is valuable in preserving clearly the case-ending ἐκόμμενα.

12/10 I suppose the accusative and participle construction has lapsed, and that the participle -]μενη refers to the Pythia or Pamphile (e.g. ἔχει τιθε]μένη τοῦτο). But I have no cogent restoration for either the beginning or the end of the verse. The last word written was not παροιμία, a form of οἶμαι meets metrical obstacles, ποιμ[ένι would have no context (the finder of Pamphile's child was a ποιμήν, but how could an allusion be hinted at here?).

13/11 οὐποτε appears not to occur elsewhere in Menander, and it would ease acceptance here if another proverb were being quoted. ἄν is not a certain reading, but the particle is wanted by ποήσαις.

This appears to be the final sentence of Smicrines' warning speech. ]οντος could be part of οὐχ ἐκόντος or ἄκοντος (sc. ἐμοῦ or its equivalent): for such a form and metrical placing cf. *Sam.* 279 βεβιασμένην | ἐμοῦ τρέφειν ἄκοντος.

14/12 Retaliation of Pamphile? πεπλα[ζμένην: the restoration supported by Menander's use of the participle elsewhere, e.g. *Dysk.* 764. It is not clear whether γνώμη means the words of the Pythia.

15/13 A concealed accusation of heartlessness by Pamphile?

From this point onwards suggestions for part distribution can only be made on subjective grounds. Nothing indicates that Smicrines has left the scene.

The scribe of 3533 neglected the aspirate in ποτ'ηγει.

17/15 παρασταμένη 'standing by' may be used with a moral sense, indeed probably is so used here. I find no example in Menander of a physical signification, 'standing close up to', 'squeezed against', to support a restoration such as παρ' οἰκίαν π. I have entertained the notion that Habrotonon might join the corps of eavesdroppers at this point and speak some (or parts of some) verses. The idea began from an untenable restoration in 20/18 (see below). I can find no firm support for the notion. It involves many difficulties (one is the simultaneous presence on stage of four speaking actors). A remote possibility is that Charisius utters a few words from his eavesdropping hide.

18/16 After ]εϛ. [ only the assumption of an important stop (dash plus space) will reconcile the ranging of letters in the two texts. ]εϛθ[ may be second person plural or elided infinitive (hence the suggested restoration αὐτὸ (cf. *Epitr.* 717)). End, a repetition of ἐπλ[αϛ-?

19/17 3533 shows no dash after δυνατον, therefore not ἀ]δύνατον δοκει[.

20/18 ]ηκυαν τυχην 3532 calls aloud for the restoration κυμβεβ]ηκυάν, but I can see no way of reconciling it with the reading ]. ηδ[ of 3533. Note that Τύχη was personified earlier in the play (351). If personification recurred, there would be grounds for regarding Tyche as prologue-speaker as in *Aspis*.

21/19 If ρ[ can be accepted as last readable letter, the phrase δεύτερος πλοῦς (frequently used by Menander) may have occurred here.

3534. MENANDER, *Kolax*

39 3B.76/J(2)c

4.8 × 3.7 cm

Third century

This small scrap of a roll (the back is blank) identifies itself as part of a copy of Menander's *Kolax* by the presence of the proper names Bias and Strouthias. These are the names of the soldier and his attendant who appeared together in a scene which Plutarch recalled as a classic in his essay *How to tell a Flatterer from a Friend* (*Moralia* 57A); the chance that the present text comes from another play with the same combination of names may be treated as too remote to count.

The writing belongs to the class of formal mixed hands (Turner, *GMAW* 26 f.); compact and workmanlike, it has no aspirations to elegance, nor any marked idiosyncrasies, though one may note the very much flattened curves of φ in 2 and the trailing left-hand point of α, which twice suggests a possible reading (3, 6); a date in the third century A.D. may be suggested. The dicolon or double point is used to distinguish speakers' parts within the line, and names are added above in a smaller version of the text hand. There survive a few words from the latter part of iambic trimeters; the thought that they might be trochaic tetrameters can be put aside when one reflects that if they were, two, perhaps three lines in six would lack median diaeresis—an unacceptable situation in Menander.<sup>1</sup>

Minute though it is, the piece has an intriguing quality which derives from the possibility that it represents the very scene of flattered and flatterer which Plutarch recalls in the passage cited above, a scene so far known from a few lines quoted by Plutarch and others (frr. 2–4 and (?) 8 in Körte and Sandbach), and supposed—subject to considerable scholarly dispute—to be the basis of Terence, *Eunuchus*, Act III, sc. i (391 ff.). If that scene is, or may be, represented in these few words, it is appropriate to look for possible correspondences with Terence's Latin; but there seems to be no way to clinch the array of possibilities into a certain confirmation of the fragment's identity without the identification or recovery of some more Greek text related to it.

The fragment is listed by H.-J. Mette, *Lustrum* 1971/2–16 (1974) at p. 12 under 18(c); and it is mentioned by T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* (1974) 158; by E. W. Handley, *Proc. XIV International Congress of Papyrologists, Oxford 1974* (1975) 140; and (in passing) by A. W. Gomme–F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: a commentary* (1973) 419.

<sup>1</sup> *Samia* 484, if not corrupt, is in any case an isolated example: see Handley, *Dyskolos of Menander* 60, with *BIGS* 16 (1969) 105.



	. . . . .	
	] . . . [ . . . ] . . . [	
	] νφυωκκ[	] εὐφωῶς κ[
	<sup>]πρα.</sup>	
	] κοςκακως . [	: κα <sup>]πραχ( )</sup> κός κακῶς α[
	<sup>]τρου]</sup>	
	] δη: νηδῖ . [	] δη: νῆ Δί', . [
5	] νθρωπος . [	ᾶ] νθρωπος . [
	] στρουθία . . . [	] <sup>Βίαι</sup> στρουθία, . . . [
	] . ιο . [ ] . : <sup>βίαι</sup> χαιρε[	] . ιο . [ ] . : χαιρε[
	. . . . .	

1 ] . . . [ , foot of an upright between two rising curves on the line, as of c or e: e.g. ] εἰς[ 2 κ is given by traces of the junction of the two arms with the upright 3 Between lines, as also in 4 and 7, a smaller version of the text hand ]πρα rather than ]πρα, ]πρα; after this, confused with the descender of φ in 2, is a rising oblique crossed through which resembles χ slightly raised (EGT) . [ , doubtful trace of end of oblique, perhaps α 4 For δ, α or perhaps λ might be read, and for η perhaps ν 5 . [ , a right facing hook, perhaps base of ε 6 ια is given by foot of an upright and of a long down-sloping oblique; then only scattered traces 7 ] . , long mid-line horizontal; after ο traces of vertical; [ ] . , top of high vertical with trace of a stroke joining at left, as if τῖ with nothing lost

2 κολακείων εὐφωῶς, Antiphanes, *Lemniai* 144K; but cf. also T. *Eun.* 416 *pulchre mehercle dictum et sapienter*, 427 *facete, lepide, laute, nil supra*; and 408 *regem elegantem narras*—passages which suggest that εὐφωῶς, as a word of praise, could well have come from the flatterer Strouthias.

3 The *nota personae* shows that there was a third person present in this scene, with a name probably ending in -τραχ( ), as for instance Βάτραχος, a name for the brothel-keeper of comedy in Plutarch, *aud. poet.* 3. 2 (*Moralia* 18c = *com. adesp.* 304 K); or Βατραχίων, name of a cook in Lucian, *adv. ind.* (58). 21: I have no nearer identity to offer. Notably, there is a third person present in the scene at T. *Eun.* 391 ff., namely the slave Parmeno, who underlines the humour of the exchanges by his comments.

κακός κακῶς suggests a curse, e.g. κακός κακῶς ἄ[πλόουτ' (or -οῖ') ἄρα: T. *Eun.* 418 f. *di uostram fidem, hominem perditum miserumque et illum sacrilegum* and 431 *at te di perdant*.

4 νῆ Δία indicates emphatic assertion or assent from Strouthias.

5 ᾶ]νθρωπος (or ᾶ]νθρωπος): perhaps note T. *Eun.* 417 *iugularas hominem* and 425 *'quid ais?' inquam homini*.

7 χαιρε[ is ambiguous: it could be part of the proper name Χαιρέας or of the verb χαιρεῖν in more than one sense.

## 3535. HEXAMETER VERSE

88J(4)

fr. 1 17 × 27 cm

Second century

The largest of the pieces of the roll put together under this number preserves parts of sixty-four verses, all but continuous (one or at most two appear to be lost at the top of col. ii), of a composition in hexameters. The only guesses I can make at the contents are that in col. i some person in a position of authority two or three times addresses a group of listeners, to what effect I cannot tell; and that in col. ii (together with fr. 2, which I think must have been a part of it) there may be recognizable names (as well as *Ἀὑκονίων* fr. 1 ii 31) of peoples or places (fr. 1 ii 17, 23; fr. 2. 4) interspersed with references to military matters (fr. 1 ii 8, 24, 28; fr. 2. 5).

The original height of the roll, 27 cm, is preserved at the left-hand side of fr. 1 i; the lower margin was 4.7 cm wide, the upper 3.7 cm, the intercolumnium 3 cm or more. The text, without accents or other lection signs, is written in an informal rounded upright capital, of medium size in fr. 1 col. ii (and the other fragments) but discernibly smaller and less fluent in fr. 1 col. i. The letters are in general well detached, but those with horizontally running strokes are apt to be ligatured to following letters that lend themselves to this treatment. This characteristic is more noticeable in col. ii, but there is no doubt about the identity of the hand, which is, I suppose, assignable to the second century.

## fr. 1 (a)

col. i	col. ii	
]δετι παιδε, εωνπεφιδοντ, τοκων		
] , τεροικνεγωκαταθησομαιου	τουτο[	
]σιτογαρνυπουωδεκαιαιου	φωτο[	
]νοτεκρατοςανερειδιω	σχησομ[	
5 ] , πεπιθμενωιθυνητον	τοσσο[	
]κα, [ . ]υρεαβενθεαποντου	οιωλα[	fr. 2
] , ες, [ . ] , ετονηπεροιος	ηετιν, [	
] , [ ] , ψανεωάνοιονακουσαν	δυςμεν[	]των, [
] , [ ]βεβολημενοιευμενανακτος	δευετα[	]τυε, . λ[
10 ] , . επυκακμενονενδοθεντηορ	ηραμ[	]νευθιν[
]εργοναμηχανονουδεφατειον	ουδαμ[	]ονευφρη[ ] , . [
]ουσινωμωσπαντεσσιφα, νθη	ηνωγε[	]ωνστρατον[ 5
]ευθε, [ ] , . . . ατοπαντ, [ ]εκηλοι	αλλητ[	]ηκαεγνιων[
]ωτες[ ]δεμμεσσοικιθε[ ]ζωσ	ειθ[	]επτοιυτε, [
15 ]υσιμ[ ]τεννεπεδευτεροναυτις	α, θ, [	]αλλ[
] , θονυποσσομενοιπραπιδεσσι	. . . [	. . . [
]ηροναμηχανιηενιπολλη	αυσο, [	
]τιν, ουπειρωμενοςανδρων	ουδαυτ[	
] , . [ ] , . . [ ]μεθυμεας, λλαδ, . ευθω[ ]	δηρονε[	
20 ] , . . [ ]ορσιτεκαιυμμε[ ]	αυτικαδ[	
]ωνετεροφρονηφωτι	αυτοκασιγν[	
]φενιδιπλοονητορ	τηλεμετα[	
]δαπατηλιαβαζη	ναιουσινκελ[	
]δαλιαστοσαερθη	συγκαιοιπρυλ[	
25 ]καπαντ, σορουσαν	δωκεναγειντο, [	
] , . . . ιωσανακτος	. [ . ] , σηοσητε, . [	
]κλυονεργον	οιταντωβασιληι[	
]βασιληοσεερωδωρ	κεκριμενοιστρα[	
]αταρκαιεποννομαλαος	ηεβινηκεινοι[ ] , [	
30 ] , . θετο, ωδετοκηες	τωνουδασσεμ[	(b)
] , εεφεωνεεκοιρανοςανδρων	συνδεκακαιανονι[ ] , νυνοφ[	] , δμονας, [
]τελευτησειεκρονηειων	ανδρασιδημογερουσιπελε[	] , σ[ ] , . . τα[
] , α, θρωποιενεχονται		

col. i	col. ii
]δετι παιδες εων πεφιδοντο τοκων	[
]ετεροικνεγωκαταθησομαι ισον	τουτο[
]σι, το γαρ νυ που ωδε και αυτοις	φωτο[
]ν οτε κρατος ανερε δοιω	σχησομ[
5 ] , πεπιθμενωιθυνητον	τοσσο[
]κατ' [ε]υρεα βενθεα ποντου	οιωλα[
] , ες, [ . ] , ετονηπεροιος	ηετινη[
] , [ ] , ψανεω εσαν, οιον ακουσαν	δυςμεν[
] , [ ]βεβολημενοι ευ μεν ανακτος	δευετα[
10 ] , πεπυκακμενον ενδοθεν ητορ	ηραμ[
]εργον αμηχανον ουδε φατειον	ουδαμ[
]ουσιν ομως παντεσσι φαανθη	ηνωγε[
]ευθε, [ ] , . . . ατο παντε[ς] εκηλοι	αλλητ[
]ωτες[ ] δ' εμ μεσσοικι θε[ο]ς ως	ειθ[
15 ]υσι μ[ε]τεννεπε δευτερον αυτις	αυθι[
] , θον υποσσομενοι πραπιδεσσι	. . . [
δ]ηρον αμηχανιη ενι πολλη	αυσο, [
]τι νου πειρωμενος ανδρων	ουδ' αυτ[
] , . [ ] , . . [ ]μεθ' υμεας, λλαδ, . ευθω	δηρον ε[
20 ] , . . [ ]ορσιτε και υμμε[ς]	αυτικαδ[
]ων ετεροφρονη φωτι	αυτοκασιγν[
]ω ενι διπλον ητορ	τηλεμετα[
]δ' απατηλια βαζη	ναιουσιν κελ[
]δ' αλιαστος αερθη	συν και οι πρυλ[
25 ]κα παντες ορουσαν	δωκεν αγειν το, [
] , . . . αινος ανακτος	το]σση οση τε, . [
]κλυονεργον	οι τ' αυτω βασιληι [
]βασιληος εελδωρ	κεκριμενοι στρα[
]αταρ και επ' ονομα λαος	ηε βινη κεινοι[ ] , [
30 ] , . θετο τωδε τοκηες	των οι δασσεμ[
]μετεφωνεε κοιρανος ανδρων	συν δε και αυτονιων συμφ[ρ]αδμονας, [
]τελευτησειε κρονηων	ανδρασι δημογερουσι πελε[ . . ] , σ[ ] , . . τα[
] , ανθρωποιενεχονται	

fr. 1

col. i 2 ], the right-hand end of a slightly rising cross-bar, touching the horizontal of tau 5 ], a speck below the line 7 ], the upper part of an upright, slightly concave ], a speck level with the top of the letters, having below on the line a stroke rising slightly to right; not prima facie μ ], the lower right-hand arc of a small circle 8 ], off the line the lower part of a thin stroke curving down from left Before ψ a dot level with the top of the letters 13 ], a concave upright ], . . . , the top of a stroke swinging slightly to right as it descends, followed by the top of a circle, the left-hand elements of a letter off the line, presumably ο, the lower part of an upright descending below the line with foot hooked to right 16 ], the right-hand end of a cross-bar at two-thirds height 19 ], the right-hand side of a small loop as of ρ, followed by the upper part of a tall upright ], . . . , if μ, followed by a median dot, no whole letter missing before After ε the foot of an upright After δ a blob of ink and the bottom left-hand arc of a circle with a speck above, before ε the right-hand end of a faint low cross-stroke 20 ], . . . , the top right-hand side of a loop, not prima facie β or ρ, followed by the top half of a circle, large for ε, and this by the upper end of a stroke descending to right For ]ο perhaps ω 26 The fibres are split and twisted. I can offer no satisfactory combination of the traces 30 ], . . . , perhaps the lower right-hand corner of ν, followed by a thick dot on the line, having above and to the right the upper right-hand side of a small loop, and the foot of an upright 33 ], traces on the line

col. ii 7 ], a dot level with the top of the letters 16 Tops of letters; after indeterminate ink converging strokes not much favouring κ or υ, followed by a shallow cupped cross-stroke 17 ], off the line the start of a stroke rising to right 25 ], the lower part of an upright descending well below the line 26 ], the tops of the opposite sides of υ suggested, followed by the top of a slightly concave upright 28 α[ represented only by a trace on the line compatible with the loop 29 ], the lower part of a stroke descending below the line with a slight swing to left 31 [ ], perhaps the base of the right-hand half of ω; then no whole letter lost ], the top of an upright; the spacing suggests α ], the base of a loop, as of α 32 For γ I cannot rule out τ, nor ι for υ ε[ there is ink both above and below not accounted for ], the right-hand end of a stroke from left touching ε about middle [ ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke with a stroke descending sharply to left from its point Before τα[ (or χα[ either somewhat anomalous) a damaged place having dispersed traces of two or three letters

fr. 2. The general appearance of this fragment is compatible with a location to right of fr. 1, but I can fix neither its interval nor its level, though its level might, I think, be that shown

1 ], perhaps the upright of κ 2 After ε likelier πο than τω? 4 ], a speck on the line, followed by a small curve open upwards 6 Of ]η only the right-hand element 7 ], the left-hand end of a slightly dipping cross-stroke as of τ 9 ], a small hook as of the tip of the right-hand stroke of υ ], at a higher level a slightly pointed arch; θ a possibility

fr. 3

]. εωνμεταδ[  
]. ηγεμ. [

1 ], on the line the end of a stroke from left 2 ], a cross-stroke touching ε at the middle 3 a dot and to its right the top of a small circle or loop; perhaps separate letters

fr. 4

]. εν[  
]. ελ[  
]. [

fr. 5

1a

]. περβασι. ησιμ[  
]. μενουτου. [  
]. νυπααλ. [  
]. ονολεσθ[  
5 ]. ζμειω[

1a is partly stripped and I am not sure whether it ever contained writing

1 The last six letters are represented only by their extreme tops, the second by the top of a circle with a dot to right 2 ], a speck; this and the three preceding letters written with a thinner point 3 ], the foot of an upright, followed by the bottom left-hand arc of a circle, perhaps eta or pi, if not two letters 5 ], a ligature to the middle of ζ?

col. i. From l. 2, ἐγώ, it is clear that a single person is addressing what appears from l. 8, ἔσαν, to be more than one other persons.

From l. 15, μετέννεπε δεύτερον, it is clear that a single person, and the same single person, is addressing what appears from ll. 19–20 to be more than one other persons, perhaps the same group as before.

In l. 31 a specified person, κοίρανος ἀνδρῶν, speaks, presumably to a group, though μετεφώνεε, at any rate in later hexameters, may be used of address to a single person (Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* i 702).

I can follow no consecutive argument; and confine myself to some comments on the language.

3 νύ που, of which Denniston *GP* has nothing to say, is found a few times in the *Odyssey*—e.g. ἦ ῥά νύ που τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτῶι xxi 398, ὡς νύ που ἕμμιν ii 320 —, more rarely in the *Iliad*, e.g. v 812, not at all in Hesiod, once in Apollonius, *Arg.* iv 1564.

4 ff. Apparently ὅτε, for ὅταν, . . . ἰθύνητον, 'on occasions when a couple direct'. At first sight the object is κράτος '(their) strength'. On the other hand κατὰ . . . βένθεα πόντου suggests that ἰθύνητον means 'steer' a ship (e.g. *Il.* xxiii 317).

πεπιθμενοι: there can hardly be any doubt that the dual is meant. The copyist nowhere else writes iota adscript; this unique example must be mistaken. The form, of which I find no other evidence, seems to have been chosen simply to obviate the hiatus arising from use of πεποιθότε (e.g. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* iv 1465).

Various forms of πέποιθα accompanied by datives of the type κάρτει (e.g. *Il.* xvii 329, *sim.*), or of the type νησί (e.g. *Od.* vii 34, *sim.*), or of a mixture of the two (e.g. βίαι τε καὶ αἰχμαῖ, Stesich. SLG S 88 i 6), and meaning 'relying on' or the like, are recorded. If this is relevant, a certain difficulty may be felt in the preemption of κράτος.

6 The sea is wide and has deeps in every category of Greek poetry. But I have not found the 'wide deeps of the sea' anywhere but here and suppose them to be the result of insensitivity in the versifier.

8 *Od.* xxiii 93 ἦ δ' ἄνεω δὴν ἦστο shows that the writing ἄνεω, in the places where the word is associated with plural forms of verb, is misconceived, but its coupling with ἄναυδοι by Apollonius (*Arg.* iii 503, 967, iv 693) inclines me to think that in a composition as late as this seems to be the mistaken spelling ἄνεω should be expected.

'Struck dumb by what they heard', cf. *Il.* vi 166 τὸν δὲ . . . χόλος λάβεν, οἶον ἄκουσε, ii 320 θανμάζομεν, οἶον ἐτύθη.

ἄνεω(ι) ἦσαν, *Il.* ix 30, 695 has corresponding ἀκὴν ἔσαν *Od.* ii 82, iv 285.

9 βεβολημένοι: 'stricken', ἀχει μεγάλοι βεβολημένος ἦτορ *Il.* ix 9, and similarly κῆρ ἄ. μ. β. *Od.* x 247; less elaborately πένηϊ δ' ἀτλήτωι βεβολήματο *Il.* ix 3, and generally on a simple model Apollonius, † ἀνίη *Arg.* i 1216, ἀμηχανίη iii 432, iv 1318, ἀμφασίη ii 409 (ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ | ἀμφασίη βεβόλητο κατὰ φρένας, elaborated with poor discrimination, Quint. Smyrn. vii 725 f.), but not certainly with any complement at all, *Arg.* i 262 (ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βεβολημένη: ἀμφασίη cj. Herwerden).

9 f. A curious resemblance, without significance, to *Il.* ii 777.

10 πεπυκαμένον: 'enveloped'; αἰὼν ἄχος πύκαε φρένας *Il.* viii 124, 316, xvii 83 suggests the form of supplement.

ἐνδοθεν ἦτορ: ἐνδοθεν ἦτορ *Od.* iv 467, κέαρ ἐνδοθεν *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* i 274, ἐν φρεσὶν ἦτορ *Theogn.* 122, and plenty of other parallels.

11 ἀμήχανα ἔργα *Il.* viii 130, xi 310 (all), ἔργον ἀμήχανον *Hes. Theog.* 836, ἀμήχανον οὐτι φατειὸν *Hes. Theog.* 310. οὐδέ for οὐτι φατειὸν only here.

12 ὁμῶς πάντεσσι: the same order at *Od.* viii 542 ὁμῶς τερπόμεθα πάντες, but generally reversed, πᾶσιν ὁμῶς *Il.* xv 98, *Hes. Theog.* 672, *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* iii 174, iv 256, and similarly with πάντες, -τας.

πάντεσσι φαάνθη also at *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* ii 687. Forms with φασανθ-, inclusive of compounds, are strongly represented in the *Argonautica*. ἐφάνθη, which might have been thought natural in this collocation, is not a form found in hexameter verse.

14 f. I suppose [δ] δ' ἐμ μέσσοι . . . -ο]σσι. The preceding -ωτες might represent ἔστη-, ἔστε-, πεπτη-, μεμα-ώτες or the like, though the first of these may be preempted by a possible στας in *l.* 15 (as *Il.* vii 384).

θεὸς ὡς with this scansion and in this position *Il.* iii 230 f. ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι θεὸς ὡς | ἔστηκ'.

Cf. τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος μετεφώνεε δεύτερον αὐτίς *Od.* xxii 69. In similar or analogous locutions μετέειπε, μετέφη, μετηύδα, as well as μετεφώνεε, are current in Homer. Apollonius, who has no μετέφη, has a single example of μετένεπε, *Arg.* iii 1168 τοῖς πάντεσσι μετένεπε δῆνεα κούρης.

16 ὑπόσσομαι not recorded elsewhere. κατόσσομαι, *Anth. Pal.* xii 91, parallel in form, is also unique. The compounds of ὄσσομαι, which has no digamma, found in Homer and Apollonius are ἐπίσσομαι and προτίσσομαι.

ὑποσκόμνοι πραπίδεσσιν: cf. ὄσσομαι φρεσὶ *Hes. Cat. fr.* 1. 10, κακὰ δ' ὄσσετο θυμῶν | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι *Hes. Theog.* 551 f., ὄσσαντο γὰρ ἄλγεα θυμῶν *Il.* xviii 224.

17 δηρόν or ἐπὶ δηρόν: see W. Bühler ad *Mosch. Eurota* 18.

ἀμηχανίη ἐνὶ πολλῇ: 'deeply perplexed'. Neither ἀμηχανίη nor ἀμηχανεῖν in *Iliad*, ἀμηχανίη once in *Odyssey*, ἀμηχανίη δ' ἔχε θυμῶν, ix 295. Use of both noun and verb greatly expanded in Apollonius, *Argonautica*, notably in circumstances resembling those that may be thought to be alluded to in the present passage (see Bühler op. cit. pp. 64 ff.).

18 A natural interpretation is that the speaker signalled in *l.* 15, 'probing the mind of the men' implied in *l.* 16 f., speaks as follows, lines 19 ff. The construction would resemble *Theognis* 125 f. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰδείης ἀνδρὸς νόον οὐδὲ γυναικός, | πρὶν πειρηθείης ὥσπερ ὑπόζυγιον. Or πειρώμενος ἀνδρῶν might be parallel to such cases as *Od.* xxiii 181 πόσιος πειρωμένη, *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* ii 638 ὡς φάτ' ἀριστήων πειρώμενος, and νόον be assumed to have a separate construction.

20 Cf. *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* ii 1047 ἔστε καὶ αὐτοί, similarly *Od.* xxi 110 καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ τόδε ἔστε. In this place I should take καὶ ὑμῖς to mean 'of yourselves', not 'as well as' another group of persons.

21 ἑτερόφρων: at Tryphiod. *Halosis* 439 *Kassandra* is referred to as ἑτερόφρονα κούρη; in *Nonn. D.* ix 49 there occurs φοιταλέης ἑτερόφρονος κύματι λύσσης; in *Anth. Pal.* i 19.7 (Claudian) ἑτερόφρονα λύσσαν. On the strength of these passages ἑτερόφρων is reasonably entered as 'raving', and it may have that sense here. But in the neighbourhood of διπλῶν 'two-faced' and ἀπατήλια 'deceitful' it is reasonable to consider the possibility that it means 'deceitful'. I cannot offer any compound in -φρων having the required meaning of which ἑτερόφρων would be the contrary. What simple epithet could be applied to one ὃς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κέυθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη (*Il.* ix 313)?

22 -ω or ᾧ.

διπλῶς: 'false', not straightforward, as e.g. *Eur. Rh.* 395, 423 οὐ διπλοῦς πέφυκ' ἀνὴρ, equated with one who habitually tells the truth. At *Archil. SLG S* 478. 36 οὐτ' ἀπιστος οὐτε διπλῶς is a further example of 'double' applied to a person with the meaning (not) 'treacherous'.

23 ἀπατήλια βάζει *Od.* xiv 127 and 157.

24 ὄμαδος ἀλάστος ἐτύχθη *Il.* xii 471, xvi 296; πόλεμος (which seems to me incompatible with this context) . . . ὄρωρεν *Il.* ii 797 (μάχην . . . ἔχουσι *Il.* xiv 57, πόλεμον . . . ἔγειρε *Il.* xx 31, γόνον . . . ὄριε *Il.* xxiv 760).

25 αὐτί]κα? I should say *τηνίκα* less likely.

29 f. καί: perhaps compare *Euphorion fr.* 176 Powell τὸν μὲν καὶ Περσεῖα μετεκλήμικαν Ἀχαιοί (i.e. as well as *Eurymedon, XIX 2219 fr.* 8).

ἐπ' οὐνομα λαός . . . θέτο: cf. ἐπὶ πᾶσι τίθενται (sc. ὄνομα) . . . τοκῆς *Od.* viii 554.

λαός may be the equivalent of ἄλλοι θ' οἱ κατὰ ἄστνυ καὶ οἱ περυναετᾶσιν contrasted with μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε at *Od.* viii 550 f., and if τῶι δέ is to be recognized, the sentence may have been of a similar nature to *Od.* xviii 5 f. Ἀρναίος δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε: τὸ γὰρ θέτο πόντια μήτηρ . . . Ἴτρον δὲ νέοι κίκλησκον.

32 The same ending in XXXIX 2883 *fr.* 1. 9 (Rhianus).

col. ii. 32 δημογέροντες *Il.* iii 149 (also as a variant δημογέροντι on *δημοτέροισι Ap. Rhod. Arg.* iii 606); *δημοτέροισι Ap. Rhod.* l.c. Here, in conjunction with ἀνδράσι, I should guess -τέροισι was likelier to have been written. [If on the other hand *δημογέροντι* is right, it could be interpreted 'senators', *συμφράδμονας* 31 (cf. i 4 ἀνέρε δαιώ) 'consuls', *βασιλεύς* i 28 and ii 27 'dictator' or 'emperor', all in a poem about 'Ausonian' (Roman) history.—J. R. Rea.]

## 3536. HEXAMETER VERSE ON GLASSBLOWING

27 3B.40/C(1)a

11.5 × 9 cm

Third century

The papyrus preserves parts of fourteen lines from a hexameter poem; the poem (or this part of it) dealt with glassblowing. The text is broken off above and below; loss at the left is minimal, on the right rather more substantial.

Composition-date and authorship remain uncertain. We assign the writing-date of the papyrus to the third century A.D. on purely palaeographical grounds. The composition of the poem is unlikely to antedate the Roman period because of the supposed date of the discovery of the glassblowing process,<sup>1</sup> see K. S. Painter, *Masterpieces of Glass* (British Museum exhibition catalogue, 1968) 36; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* v<sup>2</sup> 150. On the blowing technique see further H. Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste* iv 393. As a piece of technological verse the closest parallel is the epigram *AP* 16. 323, attributed to the Hadrianic poet Mesomedes (discussed by Forbes, op. cit. 127). The etymologically false ἀεργεννής (3, cf. n.) gives some indication of the quality of our author.

Who is the subject? ἀνθρώποισι (1) and θείης (11) suggest a divine subject. There is a reference to Hephaestus (6), but this may simply be a periphrasis for fire.

Written across the fibres in a slanting hand of documentary type, not unlike *XLI 2954*. The papyrus is made up of two pieces stuck together; the sides that are written along the fibres face each other inside (but at right angles). The risk of damage to the hexameter-text has precluded more than a cursory attempt to inspect these 'inner' texts, which are both documentary. On the back of the back sheet, across the fibres, are the remains of a register plus another line down the margin, to be assigned to the second or third century. The hexameters give the impression of being the latest of all the visible scripts.

A preliminary transcript of the hexameters by Mr E. Lobel has been useful; a number of the restorations proposed below had already been suggested by him.

<sup>1</sup> But see K. Weitzmann and E. G. Turner, *Antike Kunst* 24 (1981), esp. pp. 50-1, 62, for a blown-glass beaker possibly of the first century BC.

]νχωνανθρωποιμι[ c. 6 ]...[  
 ]ωταμ[. ]νονθηρηνηνακρηνηγλω[  
 ]ρπασεδεν' γυθιβωλονα[ε]ργεννη[.  
 ]κεδεπισταμενωσκοιληεντοςθεκ[  
 5 ]δαραξεναμενηθαλερου πυροςνητ[.]. ρ. [  
 ]αλαχθηκρυσταλλοσφαισαιοβο[. ]αων[  
 ]. ρτ' αποστοματωνδιερηνενεπ[. . . ]εραυτμ[  
 ]κυσανηρωσειτετεχνηπειρω[. . ]ν[. ]αυλ[  
 ]ερπνοτατης. υελοςδεπεδεξατοπ[  
 10 ]φαιρηδονδεπαροιθενκυρτωθηπε[  
 ]ορμηγδανθειρετερηνανεδεξ[  
 ]πολλακιμενγαροπ[. ]ια. . . αυρ[. ]. αβου[  
 ]. γενπριεσκεν. . . [ c. 5-6 ]. . . [  
 ]. [

[τε]νχων ανθρωποιμι[ c. 6 ]...[  
 [πρ]ωτα μ[εν] οην θερμηνην ακρηνη γλω[χινα σιδηρου]  
 [η]ρπασε δ' εγγυθι βωλον αεργεννης [υελοιο]  
 [θη]κε δ' επισταμενωσ κοιλησ εντοςθε κ[αμίνου]  
 [η] δ' αρα γεναμενη θαλερου πυρος ηνητ[.]. ρ. [  
 [μ]αλαχθη κρυσταλλος υφ' Ηφαίστειο βο[ρ]αων  
 [. . . ] ρτ' απο στομάτων διερην ενεπ[ρευς]εν αυτμ[ην]  
 [c. 2] κυσ ανηρ ως ει τε τεχνης περιφ[με]ν[ο]ς αυλ[ο]υ  
 [τ]ερπνοτάτης. υελος δ' επεδεξατο π[νεύματος ορμήν]  
 [c]φαιρηδον δε παροιθεν εκυρτώθη πε[ρι] αυτόν]  
 ορμήν δ' αν θερης ετέρην ανεδεξ[ατ' αυτμης]  
 πολλάκι μεν γαρ οπο[ια] καλαύρο[ο]πα βου[κόλος ανηρ]  
 [δω]ων ενπνείσκειν . . . [ 5-6 ]. . . [  
 [

1 After the lacuna, a link to the top of a vertical: η or π? Then a diagonal sloping up to join the left end of a diagonal sloping down to the right: λ? Then a small circle, possibly damaged to the right: ο or α? Last trace faint and indeterminate 3 Uncertain whether or not erasure in same hand 7 First letter: a trace of a high diagonal, sloping up to the right, with an indeterminate spot of ink above it (tau not suggested) 11 ι of θεης corr.

. . fabricating for mankind . . . First he heated the very point of the iron, then snatched from nearby a lump of bright glass and placed it skilfully within the hollow furnace. And the crystal as it tasted the heat of the fire was softened by the strokes of Hephaestus like . . . he blew in from his mouth a quick breath . . . like a man essaying the most delightful art of the flute. The glass received the force of his breath and became swollen out around itself like a sphere before it. It would receive another onslaught of the divine breath, for often swinging it like an ox-herd his crook he would breathe into . . .

2 γλω[χινα σιδηρου]. Cf. Nonn. *D.* 12. 331-2.

3 α[ε]ργεννης. The erasure, whether in the original or a later hand, must be discounted for metrical reasons, even though the spelling is etymologically unacceptable, presumably by analogy with αργος: αργος. For the 'brightness' of glass cf. Call. fr. 238. 16 Pf. with n. For βωλον . . . υελοιο cf. *AP* 16. 323. 1-3.

4 [θη]κε. Cf. *AP* 16. 323. 3.

5 At end, ηντε κηρος would neatly parallel *AP* 16. 323. 5 (οια κηρος) and provide excellent sense, but I cannot equate it with space and traces. Traces before ρ *prima facie* resemble η, but in fact η is differently formed in this hand.

6 κρυσταλλος appears as feminine also in *AP* 9. 753.

7-8 The beginnings of these two lines have posed problems. For the initial traces of 7 see the app. crit. above. Presumably the beginning of that line should pick up the main subject from 4 and before, after the parenthetical lines 5-6. If ενεπνευεν (7) is the only indicative verb in 7-8, υελος δε in 9 suggests that it must be the verb of a main and not a subordinate clause. We lack any statement of the removal of the glass from the furnace prior to the blowing operation: I suppose απο στομάτων must be taken with διερην ενεπνευεν αυτην and not refer to the mouth of the furnace. I had thought of [ελλ]κυσ' for 8 init., but the punctuation at this point is coarse, the extra verb problematical, and its position too close to the comparison of 8-9 which of course refers back to 7; alternatively, ω]κός.

11-12 The beginning of 11 is inset, perhaps because of the tail of φ from above. 12 must also begin slightly to the right, though not to such a marked degree.

12-13 Cf. Nonn. *D.* 15. 208 καλαύροπα χερσι τινάσσων, and *Il.* 23. 845 ὄσσον τίς τ' ἔρριψε καλαύροπα βουκόλος ανηρ, with scholia. The reference in the papyrus will be to the action of swinging applied to the glass, to lengthen the neck of the vessel being made.

## 3537. HEXAMETER VERSE: ETHOPOEA AND ENCOMIUM

46 5B.51/E(1-2)b

fr. 1 4.4 × 16 cm

Third/fourth century

fr. 2 3.5 × 16 cm

These two strips preserve the beginnings and ends of a full column of writing on either side; a third, medial, strip is now lost, leaving a lacuna of c. 2.5 cm in the middle of each line. At least one more column must be lost to the left, which carried the beginning of the recto text (and the continuation of the verso text).

The recto has the last two lines of one poem; then the title and text of an ethopoea, probably complete, on the subject *What Hesiod would have said when inspired by the Muses*. The script here is semi-literary, a small rapid version of the Severe Style, with a strong right slant and a tendency to cursive ligatures (e.g. of ει and αρ); its ancestor is e.g. *GLH* 17b; it has similarities with the Harris Homer, *GMAW* 14, and with *II* 222, *GMAW* 65, both assigned to the third century; it will belong to the third or earlier fourth century. This scribe writes no lectional signs, except perhaps middle stop at line end (11 and 20); he omits elided vowels (no example of *scriptio plena*); he omits iota adscript at the one place which certainly required it (7). In 7 and 14 corrections or second thoughts stand above the line, apparently in the same hand.

The verso carries the title and twenty lines of an *Encomium of Hermes and Antinous*; the poem gets no further than Antinous' youth; either it continued in a further column, or the poet gave up. The script here, though of much the same size and character, is much more cursive and written with a thinner pen. No lectional signs visible. There are more suprascript amendments, probably by the same hand; in some places the first version was crossed out.

Since the corrections come from the same hands as the text, and those on the verso at least look like substantive second thoughts, it is likely that we have an author's manuscript with author variants. Compare *VII* 1015. There may have been two authors, each writing a different script; or only one, who used his best writing on the recto, and his everyday writing on the verso (compare *P. Coll.* Youtie 66, where Lollianus the grammaticus perhaps wrote both a cursive and a semi-literary style).

These are local compositions; they illustrate at low level the poetic tradition of Egypt, which attains more than provincial importance in the fourth and fifth centuries (Cameron, *Historia* 14 (1965) 470 ff.). The complete ethopoea (recto 3 ff.) shows characteristic virtues and defects. Hesiod speaks: he feels the presence of the Muse; asks

her in person to inspire him with *Theogony* and *Catalogues*; bids farewell to the scenes and prizes of rustic verse, now that he has tasted Hippocrene—invokes parents and brother—abandons the bucolic pipe—sees the heavens open—and steps forward to immortality. The factual material derives mainly from *Theog.* 1 ff. (with verbal imitation in places), and from *Op.* 633 ff. (Ascra) and 654 ff. (the contest at Chalcis); add later biographical invention, and later elaborations of the *Dichterweihe*, known to us first from the third century BC (the darkness, the sacred spring; cf. *Theog.* 5 f.). But the poet gives the facts an ingenious new angle: Hesiod becomes, not just a poet instead of a peasant, but a grand poet instead of a shepherd poet; and his activities as a shepherd poet are supplied from Theocritus. This ingenuity does not extend to style and composition. The hexameters are indeed correct, they violate Callimachean decencies only once (26), they do not pander to the stress accent (27); the speech kicks off with brio, and l. 25 has a solid neatness. But the whole thing shows a heavy hand; rhetorical technique gets no further than crass anaphora, jerky transitions, flat and flabby exercises in theme and variation. Historically, the piece has two interests, for the late view of Hesiod, and the late use of Latin. This Hesiod is the divine cosmogonist, as in another imitation, XXXVII 2816, and rejects the rustic pipe; contrast the Alexandrian Hesiod, exemplar of sweetness and delicacy (*Call. Ep.* 27 Pf), whose rustic pipe was the gift and inspiration of the Muses (*Virg. Ecl.* 6. 69 f.); Augustan *recusatio* is firmly refused in 25 ff. Virgil may have contributed to the wording, if not the sentiment (25 n.); Greek poets certainly read Latin, see Cameron l.c. 494; P. Bon. 4 ap. Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Kyklos: Festschrift R. Keydell* (1978) 88 ff., ll. 33 and 103. At the same time this poet looks forward to Nonnus (14 n.); and so adds to the evidence (supported by XLI 2946, which shows Triphiodorus to be of the third century) that Nonnus was the perfecter, not the inventor, of his style.

	fr. 1	recto	fr. 2	
	]αλλαθεργεσθαωθο. . . [		] . δετισημα	ἀλλά, θεή, σὺ θαωθο. . . [ ] . δετι σῆμα
	]ουλοονεξεμεθεν[		] . κληος	οὐλοὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν [ ] . Ἡρ[ακλήος
	τινασανλογου[		] . υπο	τίνας ἄν λόγου[σ' Ἡσιόδου εἶπο]; ὑπὸ
	τωνμουσωνε. [		]ενος	τῶν Μουσῶν ε. [ ] . μ]ενος
5	]τιςμεθεωνετινα[		] . ηγαγενασθμα	τίς με θεῶν ἐτίνα[ξε c. 8 ] . ἡγαγεν ἄσθμα,
	ουρεατεπρολιποντ[		] . ιβοταμηλων	οὔρεά τε προλιπόντ[α c. 8 κ]αὶ βοτὰ μῆλων;
	νυκτιμητισεπισ. [		]ξουελικωνος	νυκτὶ μῆ τίς επισ. [ c. 10 ]ξου Ἐλικῶνος
	δαφνησευπεταλ. [		]θηλεασοζους	δάφνης εὐπετάλο[ c. 7 ἐρι]θηλέας ὄζους;
	αυτημοιενοςειπ[		]εμουστριγαντων	αὐτῇ μοι γένος εἶπ[ε θεῶν πολ]έμους τε γιγάντων
10	παντωνθηρω[		] . ντεγυναικων	πάντων θ' ἡρώ[ων c. 8 ] . ν τε γυναικῶν,
	αυτηκοσμονεν. . . [		] . εδρακοσσοικ.	αὐτῇ κόσμον ἐνισπ[ε c. 9 ] . ἔδρακον ὄσσοικ.
	μανδρημητριτ. [		] . εσ. παρ. . αιγων	μάνδρη ἐμῆ τριτά[λαυα καὶ αὐλ]μεσ αἰ πάρος αἰγῶν,
	ερχομ. ιεσπολ. . . . [		] . κλοναγωνων	ἔρχομαι ἐς πτολ. . . . [ c. 8 κ]ύκλον ἀγῶνων,
	ιεροσουκετικι. . . [		]ορδεσιπομ. .	ἱερός οὐκέτι κ. . . [ c. 10 ] οὐδ' ἔτι ποίμνη
15	βαι. . . [ . . . ] . υμ. ασα. [		] . ωμασιασκη	βαι. . . [ . . . ] . υμ. ασα. [ c. 9 ] δώμασιν Ἄσκη,
	ου. αυτησκυμ. η. [		] . ετεπαντες	οὐδ' αὐτῆς κύμβης [ c. 10 ] . ετε πάντες.
	μηλονομοιμ. . . [		] . δαξαναοιδην	μηλονόμοι Μοῦσαι [καλήν μ' ἐδ]ίδαξαν αἰοιδῆν,
	εκδελομηπολυ[		]ευστουαγανιπ. [	ἐκ δ' ἐλόμην πολυ[ c. 10 ] εὔστου Ἀγανίπην[ c.
	νυμυοιδιεπατερ. [		]γυνπυκμηδ.	νῦν μοι, Δίε πάτερ, . [ c. 10 ] νῦν Πυκμήδη,
20	ολβιστημητειρακα. [		]περση.	ὀλβίστη μήτειρα κα. [ c. 10 ] Πέρση.
	. τησε. . . ει. . . ρι. [		]υγαραιοιδην	. τησε. . . ει. . . ρι. [ c. 9 ο]ὐ γὰρ αἰοιδῆν
	. αυρηνβου. ολικ[		]μαιουδοσαφαιροι	παύρην βουκολικ[ c. 10 ]μαι, οὐδ' ὄσ' ἀφαιροῖ
	ρηιδιωςμελπουσι[		] . ωται	ῥηιδίως μέλπουσι[ c. 6 ἀγρο]ῶται,
	ουδεμοιαιοπολικη. [		] . ευαεσυριγξ	οὐδέ μοι αἰπολική. [ c. 10 ] . εὔα<δ>ε σῦριγξ,
25	συνδαντοιςκαλα[		] . υγοναγριονηχη	σὺν δ' αὐτοῖς καλά[μοισιν ἀπέε]τρυγον ἄγριον ἤχην
	εκδιοσεκμουσεων[		]ξουρανοιομοι	ἐκ Διὸς ἐκ Μουσέων [ c. 10 ]ξ οὐράνιοί μοι
	φαινονταιπυλεω. [		]ειαμελαθρα	φαίνονται πυλεω[ c. 10 ]εια μέλαθρα
	ηδηδαειδεινεθε. [		]εοσδε	ἤδη δ' αἶδεν ἐθέλω c. 9 ]εοσδε

1 . . . [ foot of upright, sloping down to left; then points of ink on projecting fibres ] . , top of upright sloping down to left 2 ] . , diagonal sloping down from left and joining kappa at mid height; before it, blob of ink on projecting fibres at slightly higher level 3 ] . , top of upright sloping down to left 4 . [ lower part of upright sloping down to left and curving left at foot 5 ]τ, enlarged, horizontal decorated with heavy vertical serif at left tip ] . , perhaps the top of an upright, then most of another, with a horizontal or down-sloping link between 6 ] . , end of horizontal at half-height, joining iota 7 . [ see comm. 8 . [ left-hand half of circle 10 ] . , see comm. 11 . . . [ top of upright; flattish stroke level with the letter-tops, probably top of flattened circle; upright sloping down to left ] . , end of horizontal joining epsilon at two-thirds height 12 . [ foot of upright sloping down to left, or junction of two such (i.e. alpha) ] . , indistinguishable . παρ. . . , see comm. 13 . ι, see comm. . . . [ second, the tops of two uprights, high traces between (mu?); then top arc of circle; then top of upright ] . , high blob on projecting fibres 14 . . . [ long high horizontal, upright near left-hand end (tau?), remains of upright or curved back near right-hand end; then perhaps remains of left-hand half of circle superscript: . . . [ first, upright μ. . . , parts of three sloping uprights 15 see comm. . υμ. , first, end of high horizontal; after mu, upright with beginning of horizontal above (gamma, pi?) ] . , point of ink at middle height 16 ου. ,

perhaps delta overwritten on tau, or vice versa; but that still leaves unexplained ink . . . η, , blob at line level; after eta, part of sloping upright, middle height 17 . . . [second, left-hand half of circle? ], upright sloping down to left 18 . [foot of upright 19 . [foot of upright δ, , confused ink 20 . [short vertical trace at middle height 21 . 7, top arc of circle? ε . . . , first, foot of upright strongly hooked to right; third, foot of descender (iota?) ει . . . , first, foot of upright sloping down to left, with strong hook to right; then diagonal (as back of alpha etc.); then kappa?; then unexplained traces . [small high loop, with the left-hand arc extended upward to right 22 . a, feet of two uprights, close together βου . , upright 23 . ], upper part of upright 24 . [left-hand end of high horizontal? more ink to right at line-level? ], horizontal joining from left at half height 25 . ], high horizontal joining from left 27 . [foot of upright sloping down to left 28 . [lower part of upright sloping down to left

1-2 Various ambiguities. If we recognized 'O goddess', 'destructive star' and 'of Heracles', we could think of a catasterism: Draco (the serpent of the Hesperides) begs Hera to give him a place in heaven near Engonasin (Heracles himself) (sources: Roscher vi 882) (Cancer and Leo are also victims of Heracles, but not so near). Alternatively, Heracles looks to his place as Engonasin or Ophiuchus; but the (meagre) sources attribute this elevation to Jupiter, not to a goddess.

1 αλλά, θεή: the same beginning, with imperative to follow, *HH Dem.* 82, *Nonn. D.* 25, 264, 31, 271, and in another amateur performance, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Suppl. Hell.* no. 901. 5.

θαωθο . . . [I cannot find a different reading or articulation; though the second theta may have been corrected to or from something else. *αωων* may have been intended (or *θεωων*, if catasterism comes into it). ] δετι: τι or ετι; before that μ]ηδ(ε), ο]υδ(ε), -ι δ(ε), -υ δ(ε) etc.

σήμα: sign, omen, grave, constellation? If the last, and if it goes with ούλοόν, cf. ούλοόν ἄστρον attributed to Callimachus (*Suppl. Hell.* no. 300).

2 'Ηρ]ακλήος: the first trace suits no vowel but alpha. There is no noun that fits; and no distinguished proper name except Heracles. The question arises, whether this stands in apposition to ἐμέθεν, or apart from it. If (i), the verb could come in 1, *στήσο]ν δέ τι σήμα . . . [κἀπώνυμον 'Ηρ]ακλήος*, or in 2; if (ii) the same in 1, then e.g. *[κατεναντίον 'Ηρ]ακλήος*. But I have thought of no supplements in 2 which are not too long.

3 ff. Ethopoea: Hesiod describes his *Dichterverwehe*.

I am grateful to the seminars which discussed this text in Florence and Pisa; especially to Professor A. Barigazzi and Professor V. Di Benedetto, and to Mr A. D'Angour (Oxford) and Dr J. Diggle (Cambridge).

3-4 Prose heading.

4 ε. [ : κ, μ, ν? *ἐκ[διδασκόμε]νος*, *ἐμ[πεπνευμ]ένος* (di Benedetto), *ἐν[θεος γενόμε]νος* (Barigazzi) would all suit the space.

5 ff. There is no external evidence to fix the width of the central lacuna. But the supplements printed in 3, 9, 17, and 25 look plausible each in itself, and are consistent in length one with another.

5 ἐτίναξ[ξε: a long way after Sappho fr. 47 LP *Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ μοι φρένας*. AR 4. 641 *φόβω ἐτίναχθεν*. A favourite verb of Nonnus, but in more physical senses.

ἄσθμα: poetic inspiration (*ἐνέπνευσαν Theog.* 31), as in Nonnus' appeal to Homer (*D.* 25, 261): *πνεύσον ἐμοὶ τεὸν ἄσθμα θεόστυγον*. It might be subject or object; the former gives a smoother construction, say, *τί μ' ἱερὸν (ἐνθεο]ν Diggle) ἤγαγεν ἄσθμα*. The poet respects Hermann's bridge so far as we can observe; so that most compounds in -ἤγαγεν are excluded.

6 ] , βοτα: iota seems guaranteed by its long descender; the letter ligatured to it from the left might be alpha or epsilon (among vowels). (i) βοτά might stand on its own; it is the word Callimachus uses in his version of this scene, fr. 112. 5; it combines oddly with μήλων, unless the poet actually took it to mean 'flock' (*πώεα μήλων* in Nonnus). (An echo, perhaps, of *Theog.* 284 *προλιπὼν χθόνα, μητέρα μήλων*.) Then supply e.g. *οὔρεά τε προλιπόντ[α κατὰ κλια (or καὶ ἄλσει) καὶ βοτὰ μήλων*. (ii) Of compounds, only *θερ]εῖβοτα* looks likely (the trace excludes *εἰβοτα*); and that runs across Hermann's bridge.

In the real Hesiod, it is the Muses that leave the mountain (*Theog.* 9) and find Hesiod on the slopes below (23). But this poet sees the change of vocation as a change of place.

7 νυκτὶ μῆ: the Muses visited the real Hesiod by night, or so at least it could be inferred from *Theog.* 10. Rhetoricians emphasize the suddenness of inspiration: Lucian, *Rhet. Pr.* 4 *αὐτίκα μάλα ποιητὴς ἐκ ποιμένος κατέστη*, Nicephorus Gregoras (ap. Synes. p. 373 D) *ἐν μῆ (νυκτὶ) . . . δεξιότατον ποιητὴν*.

επισ. [ : the trace might be the lower part of a curved upright, or the lower left arc of a rounded letter; if a tiny trace high up to the left belongs, it should be tau. Since the word must finish with the next syllable, and if a consonant must follow sigma, the scope is not large: my only idea is . . . *ἐπίστ[ατ' ἀπ' ἐνδό]ξου 'Ελικώνος | δάφνης εἰπετάλο[ιο φέρειν (δρέπειν Diggle) ἐρι]θγλέας ὄζους;*

]ξου: the xi seems unavoidable. Both εὐ- and ἐν-δόξου ring prosy (especially ἐν-, an honorific in contemporary documentary language); perhaps for this reason a substitute was added above, of which only ]ου survives.

8 *Theog.* 30 f. *καὶ μοι κῆπτρον ἔδον, δάφνης ἐριθγλέος ὄζον, | δρέψασαι θηγῶν*. The plural 'branches' (*Il.* 10. 467) is for the sake of the metre; other authors who have plural branches have plural Muses as well (Max. Tyr. 38. 2, Tzetz. *Vit. Hes.*).

9 *αὐτή*, not *αὔτη*: the same insistence on the horse's mouth in XXXVII 2816. 7 (*Suppl. Hell.* 938).

*Theog.* 44 *θεὸν γένος . . . 50 αὐτις δ' ἀνθρώπων τε γένος κρατεράν τε γιγάντων*.

10 Perhaps *πάντων θ' ἡρώ]ων γενεήν, φύλ]όν τε γυναικῶν*: compare *Op.* 159 f. *ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῶν γένος . . . προτέρη γενεή*; *Theog.* 1021 = *Catal.* fr. 1. 1 MW *νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φύλον αἰείατε*. Alternatively *δι]ών τε γυναικῶν*; the initial trace at first sight favours omega, because the loop of which the ink might be the right-hand side was not closed at the top; but there are also examples of gap-topped omicrons.

11 *κόμω*: 9 plainly describes the *Theogony*, 10 the *Catalogues* (he may allude verbally to *Op.* 159 f.; but that mentions the 'heroes' only in passing); it might seem to follow that 11 refers to *Works and Days*, the 'order' of nature which 'I saw with my own eyes'. The list would correspond to that of Archias (?), *AP* 9. 64. 7 f. (Gow & Page, *Hell. Ep.* 1024 f.) *μακάρων γένος ἔργα τε μολπαῖς | καὶ γένος ἀρχαίων ἔγραφες ἡμῖθέων*; and gives a neat symmetrical structure. Against this: (i) 'Hesiod' is about to abandon rustic verse (12 ff.), which makes it awkward to include agricultural poetry among his future inspirations; (ii) *κόμω* in the other imitation, 2816 (*Suppl. Hell.* 938) 9, is directly cosmogonic, and so refers to the *Theogony*. Neither point weighs heavy; and *ἔδρακον* makes difficulties, if 'I' (or 'they') are said to have witnessed the beginnings of the universe. One could compromise: the poet has in mind the astronomical section of *Works and Days*.

*ἔδρακον* likely, rather than a compound, for the sake of Hermann's bridge, since the trace before looks like gamma, sigma, or tau; if so, ]ξ as word end. 'I saw'? or 'men (gods, Muses) have seen'? Heavy stop, and another trace, at end.

12 *τριτά[λαινα* looks plausible; then *καὶ αὐλ]ιες αἰ πάρος αἰγῶν* (suggested by Dr Diggle). Several letters in the latter part have been overwritten; αμ altered from or to eta? ρ from or to epsilon? For *αὐλιες* see Gow on *Theoc.* 16. 92, especially Call. *H.* 6. 105 *χῆραι μὲν μάνδραι, κενεαὶ δὲ μοι αὐλιες ἤδη | τετραπόδων*.

13 *ερχομαι* (with alpha altered from epsilon), it seems, not *ερχομεθ*. The theme here and in what follows was (poetic) competitions and their prizes; the poet has in mind Hesiod's trip to Chalcis and victory there, *Op.* 654 ff. *πολλ* might begin *πόλεμον* or *πολιέθρον* (i.e. Chalcis); the former seems possible as a reading, the latter not: e.g. *ἔρχομαι ἐς πόλεμον [μελέων καὶ κύ]κλον ἀγώνων* (the supplement a little too long).

*κ]ύκλον*: looks back to *Il.* 18. 504 *ἱερὸς κύκλος*; but the sense 'circle of spectators' will have been still current usage. An accidental echo of *Od.* 4. 792 *κύκλον ἀγῶων*.

14 'Hesiod' no longer competes for rustic prizes. There is an ingenious blend of two motifs: (i) livestock as prize for bucolic song, as often in Theocritus; (ii) the proverbial *οὐχ ἱερίον οὐδὲ βοεῖον Il.* 22. 159, later developed by Nonnus as *οὐ βοέης ἀγέλης χάριν, οὐ περὶ ποίμνης | ἦεν ἀγῶν (D.* 2.360 f.). At the beginning I have considered two possibilities. (i) *ἱερὸς οὐκέτι κίτε* [μοὶ κτίλος]. Here *κίτε* represents *κείται* by two common misspellings; the suprascript letters could be read (without much conviction) as a correction *κει[ται. κείται* is the appropriate verb (e.g. *Theoc.* 5. 23); *ἱερὸς* + noun would paraphrase the Homeric *ἱερίον*. The disadvantages are: *κτίλος*, which is rather short for the space (but I can find no other noun of the right meaning); and the need to suppose misspelling. (ii) *ἱερὸς οὐκέτι κίττης*, suggested by Mr A. D'Angour; then e.g. *[ἀέθλιον*, though this actual word is much too short. This has the advantage of preserving normal spelling (though the Attic form is unexpected); the disadvantage of straying from the Homeric model and the Theocritean prizes.

15 *βαιή* looks plausible (*βαιήν . . . πολέχνην Nonn. D.* 13. 74); the sense 'or the (other) prizes that little Asca provided at home'; e.g. *βαιή δ' ο]ῖα*, then *ἕμμ[ι* (cf. 16). But I cannot then fit in the other remains. Possibly *βαιή δ' ο]ῖα κύμπα* *ἀ]ρκεῖ εὐν] δώμασιν Ἀσκηρῆ*, except that the supplement is substantially too short; neater and longer *α[ύτοις εὐν] δώμασιν* (in that case 'is a prize' has developed into 'is prize enough'; or 14 has to be otherwise reconstructed).

16 *κύμβης* seems likely in context (though the space may be narrow for beta); the cup as a prize for rustic song, *Theoc.* 1. 27 etc. (but *συνβία* in a heroic contest, *Aen.* 5. 267). Before *ετε* a minimal trace or none at all. Supply e.g. *οὐδ' αὐτὴς κύμβης [χρήζω τῆς χρήζ]ετε πάντες: αὐτὴς 'that same', or αὐτῆς? [But κύμβης might also look forward to 18: the poet will no longer drink from the common cup, but from the sacred fount.—J. R. Rea.]*

17 *Theog.* 22 *'Ηκίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν αἰοδήν*.

18 e.g. πολλὸ [χεῦμα θεοπν]εύστου Ἀγανίππησ (or ἀπ' ἀψ)εύστου, if a suitable noun can be thought of).

19 The name of Hesiod's father had been invented (from *Op.* 299) by the fifth century (Pherecydes, *FGH* 3 F 167 etc.), his mother's by the time of Ephorus (*FGH* 70 F 1). Does he bid them farewell? or does he, like an American president, ask them to assist his mission? Of the verb only the first trace survives (apparently the foot of an upright), e.g. π[αραγίνεο?

20 μήτεια: rare: see *Suppl. Hell.* no. 303.

κα. [: καί would be possible, but the expected ligature between alpha and iota is missing. κας[ίγνητος δὲ κύ,] Πέρση fills the gap, though inelegantly.

21 στήσε rather than πτήσε (not κτήσε). στήσεται εἰς ἄκροιο might be forced into sense, '(my muse) will stand on top of the summit'; but the second tau is anomalous, and the rho hardly possible; even if the lacuna will hold enough.

22 παύρην: παύρον ἔπος Pind., *Ol.* 13. 98, *parvum* . . . *carmen* Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 257, *tenui* . . . *avena* Virg., *Ecl.* 1.

2. Supply e.g. βουκολικ[ῶς (or -ήν, Theoc. 1. 64) ἀναβάλλο]μαι: Nonn. *D.* 19. 102 f. ἀνεβάλλετο . . . παυροπέης.

23 Supply e.g. μέλπουσι[ν ἀδρεες (-σι [δυσχηέες Diggle]); or if two adjectives are too many, μέλπουσι[ν ἐν οὔρεσιν or the like (these actual words too long). Earlier ἀγροιώται had been an adjective, with noun preceding; but the traditional tags do not fit here (Livrea on AR 4. 1183).

24 ευραε pap.: corrected by Barigazzi and di Benedetto independently.

25 A reversal (perhaps conscious) of *Ecl.* 6. 8 *agrestem tenui meditabor arundine Musam*. Cf. Nonn. *D.* 1. 41 (Apollo) δονάκων . . . ἀναίνεται ἔμπροσθ ἡχώ (I owe the reference to Dr Gigli).

26-7 There are two difficulties here. (i) ]ξ may represent ἐξ, continuing the sequence ἐκ Διός etc. (which itself alludes to ἐκ Διός ἀρχώμεσθα); or an elided form, e.g. πλῆ]ξ' (Diggle). (ii) In 27 we can write πύλεων or πυλεῶν[εσ. We could try (i) οὐράνιοι μοι | φαίνονται πύλεων [λείπουσι δὲ θ]εῖα μέλαθρα. But then the earlier part of 26 is very loosely attached; and the genitive needs a preposition (which could be provided only at the cost of more awkwardness by writing ὑπάτων ξ]ξ). (ii) With οὐράνιοι . . . πυλεῶν[εσ, followed e.g. by ἰδ' Οὐλύμπ]εῖα μέλαθρα (Diggle), we can regard ἐκ as introducing the agent (the difficulty then is to find the third term); or, as Diggle suggests, put a stop before οὐράνιοι, supplying e.g. [με μένος πλῆ]ξ'. The latter, with punctuation after monosyllabic eighth element, is the greater breach of proprieties, which elsewhere the poet observes.

28 The heavens open and the poet begins to sing. At the end, the reading seems unavoidable; my only idea (if the poem really does end with this line) is ἦδη δ' αἰεῖδεν ἐθέλω βῆναι τε κλ]έοςδε. The Homeric φόβονδε might encourage such a formation.

	fr. 2	verso	fr. 1	
	. [		. . . υ . .	
	—[		] ]	
	. [		] ]	
	αντινοεσο, δ[	]νυμνοαεσιω	Ἀντίνοε, σο. δ[	]ν ὕμνον αἰείω
5	μαντινης, [	] . αιαγλαουερμειω	μάντιν σῆς. [	] και ἀγλαοῦ Ἑρμείω.
	ουγαρπωποτ[	] . λησομοιδησ	οὐ γὰρ πώποτ[	ἔγώ καλῆς ἐπ[ι]λήσομ' αἰοιδῆς
	ουδειμοι . . . ρρ[	] . δωκεσαν. ην	οὐδ' εἴ μοι . . . ρρ[	] . δωκεσ ἀν{ε}ίην.
	αιδαγεννζη[	]ρτατουαγλαατεκνα	αἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ζη[νός μὲν ὕπε]ρτάτου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα	
	χ. . . [			
	μουσα . . . . [	] . αυδατετσι	Μούσαι . . . . [	] . αι ὑδάτετσι
10	κρηνησπ . . π[	] . ελ. ωμε . . ριδην	κρήνης Πηπ[λείης	] μέλωμεν ἄοιδήν.
	καισεδηλητρ[	] . ε[ ]οναργυροτοξε	και σε δέ, Λητρο[	] . ε[ ]ον ἀργυρότοξε,
	γνυλιτομαι. [	] . ετεραισιδαοιφαισ	νῦν λίτομαι. [	] ἡμετέραισι δ' αἰοδαίσι
		] . . εουσια		
	ελθοις . . . . [	] . σερμειω	ἔλθοις . . . . [	] . σε Ἑρμείω
	αν . . . . . [	] . ο . . αυτα . . . ειτα		] . ο . . , αυτὰρ ἔπειτα
15	. . . . . [	] . . . . .		
	παντωνδος. [	]ς . . ησωμεθαβουλαισ	πάντων δος. [	]ς μενρώμεθα βουλαίσι
	μηδ . . . . . [	] . αδενυγε . . . . . ιμεν	μηδ . . . . . [	] τάδε νῦν ἐγέπουμεν
		] . . . . . ] ετ . . . . .		
	και . . . . . [	] . . . . . τελεε . . . . . ]		
	. . . . . [	] . . . . . ουρεσιτο . . . ca		
		] . η . . εκη . . . . .		
20	. . . . . [	] . . . . . νοσιπ . . . . . ] [		
	. . . . . [	] φιλατ. κνατελειειν		] φίλα τέκνα τελείειν
	. . . . . [	] . νκοιναιτεκουσα		] . νκοιναι τεκούσα
	υ . . . . . μενω[	] . αγακλυτον . . . . . οσανηκ[		] . ἀγακλυτὸν ἄνθος ἀνηκ[

The cursive script and damaged surface make reading difficult. It is rarely possible to identify single letters out of context; therefore no app. crit. is given.

1-3 Title. The poem concerns Antinous (4) and Hermes (5, 13). Line 1 begins with a trace most suggesting omega, l. 3 probably with alpha (though the loop almost touches a vertical which must then be taken as a superscript letter in l. 4); l. 2 begins with a projecting horizontal, probably part of a paragraphus. L. 1 ends with letters in a much more cursive hand, which could be read Ε]ρμου και. I guess that an original title (two lines centred with one another and with the text) had

ω[δη περι  
α[ντινοου

and was then expanded to mention Hermes.

There are clear similarities with VII 1015 (Heitsch, *GDRK* no. xvi), 3rd cent., praises of Hermes and of Theon the gymnasiarch, where the title was changed in reverse from Ἑρμοῦ ἐγκόμιον to εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐγκόμιον. Here too Antinous might be a contemporary bigwig. But Hadrian's favourite has a better claim. Coins show him with a caduceus; a *Kultverein* in Rome worshipped him as 'the new Hermes' (IG xiv 978a, p. 695); Pancrates (*GDRK* no. xv fr. 2 ii 9) called him 'son of Hermes'. (This association with (chthonic) Hermes may explain the mysteries celebrated at his home town of Bithynium, see L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, ser. 3, 17 (1943) 184 n. 9; so he is invoked as νεκροδαίμων in the splendid love charm from Antinoopolis, *SEG* xxvi 1717. See in general J. Beaujeu, *La Religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire* i (1955) 250-2.) The life and death of Antinous inspired poets and proconsuls (Mesomedes, Pancrates, Numenius; T. B. Mitford, *Inscriptions of Kourion* no. 104, redone by W. D. Lebeck, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 101 ff.); it might be thought that nothing fades faster than yesterday's favourite; but his cult and games continued at Antinoopolis in the third century, his birthday



and deification were still celebrated at Oxyrhynchus in the late second (XXXI 2553); the love-charm shows what primal functions he could exercise (3rd–4th cent.). This—and perhaps the precedent of Panocrates—are the background to our piece.

The central lacuna contained  $\epsilon$ . 10 letters; the supplement in 6 is consistent with this.

4  $\sigma$ . : the last letter perhaps hypsilon, with iota written above; but some unexplained ink remains; hypsilon may be written over (or under) e.g. nu. If so, the scribe/poet may have ended with  $\sigma\iota\delta\eta$ , after trying  $\sigma\iota\nu$  and  $\sigma\iota\delta$ .

$\text{Ἀντίνοε}$ : on the Homeric model (*Il.* 23. 602), before sigma (*Il.* 20. 434 etc.).

5 The sense must be  $\epsilon\eta\varsigma$   $\delta$ [ $\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon$ ]  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\delta$ . 'E. But the trace suggests beta, epsilon, sigma etc.

7 If the beginning is rightly read, the model must be *Il.* 9. 379 οὐδ' εἴ μοι . . . τόσα δοίη (cf. 385), 445 οὐδ' εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσταίη θεὸς αὐτός or the like. At the end apparently δῶκες (-έδωκες) ἀνίην (-ει- pap.). The use of the aorist indicative as counterfactual does not surprise; but I cannot reconstruct the rest, or guess whether the second person is generalizing or presupposes a vocative.

8  $\alpha\iota\delta'$   $\delta\gamma\epsilon$ : the poet assumes that  $\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$  are interchangeable in this formula, as in other Homeric usages.

$\text{Ζη[νός μὲν ὑπε]ρτάτου δ. τ.}$  After Solon fr. 13. 1 West (copied in Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 1029a).

9  $\text{Μοῦσαι . . . . [ -οῖν ἀγαλλόμε]ναι ὑδάτεσσι}$  would be a likely pattern (*HH Herm.* 553, Nic. *Ther.* 62, Tryph. 155, Coll. 187, 250), but not necessary (no adjective *Il.* 2. 462, Nonn. *D.* 13. 59 etc.); for the sense cf. Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 271. 6  $\text{τερπόμεναι πλατάνοις καὶ ὑδατίοις}$ . The word after  $\text{Μοῦσαι}$  began with kappa (or perhaps beta); a cramped writing of  $\text{καλλίροφ[ις]}$  might be possible. The suprascript alteration began with chi; then remains of two letters (the first with a long descender), then a damaged patch equivalent to two or three letters, then apparently blank papyrus; at this length, the amendment should be to part, not to the whole, of the word below.  $\chi\rho$  acceptable, but  $\chi\rho\nu[\sigma\omicron]$  ( $\text{χρυσο(ρ)όας}$  can apply to any precious water: V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus*, Hymn ii 17 n., iv 12) not suggested; nor is  $\chi\rho\eta$  [ $\text{χρημώδοισιν}$  would in any case run over the blank patch].

10  $\text{Πηπ[λειης]}$  (not  $\text{Πειπ[.]}$ , it seems) for  $\text{Πηπ-}$ . For the spelling without mu see Nisbet & Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* i 26. 9. Then e.g.  $\text{λυγυρήν[ ] μέλπουμεν ᾠοιδήν}$ .

11  $\text{Λητρο[]}$  rather than  $\text{Λητρω[]}$ :  $\text{Λητρο[ίδη]}$ ,  $\text{Λητρο[γενέας]}$ ,  $\text{Λητρο[ύς υἱέ]}$ .

$\text{[. ε[ ]ον}$ : perhaps  $\text{κ[ρ]έον}$ , although the space between epsilon and omicron seems rather wide.

12  $\text{[. ]}$ : the lower part of an upright. At the end,  $\text{ἡμετέρας}$  can hardly be avoided, so that the word before must consist of one or two short syllables;  $\delta'$  implies that another verb, parallel with  $\text{ἔλθοις}$ , precedes. One pattern would be  $\text{π[ρ]εύσον μένος}$ ; another  $\text{καὶ[ ] ἡμετέρας δ'}$  (or  $\text{παρ'}$ ) or the like, depending on the construction), cf. Nonn. *D.* 44. 151, 47. 369 and often.

13 After  $\text{ἔλθοις}$ , we could look for an equivalent of  $\text{ἄλαος}$  or  $\text{ἐπίκουρος}$ , but I can read nothing suitable; just possibly  $\text{κρδάμ[ων]}$ , with e.g.  $\text{cὸν[ ] . . . ᾠοδαῖς}$  before, governing an accusative at the end.

$\text{[. : c: τέ]κος}$  likely, i.e. Antinous. This, the theme that Apollo is invited to celebrate, may depend on an earlier verb, or begin a new clause (introduced by  $\text{καὶ γάρ}$  or the like). Above, an alternative version: perhaps  $\text{ἀγγέλου[ ] φέρος νῆα}$  (cf. *HH Dem.* 407 cod.), but  $\kappa$  leaves some ink unexplained.

14  $\text{ἀννομήης}$ . . [ could be read, if relevant.

15 Beginning perhaps  $\text{αὐτόν}$ :  $\text{αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα}$  leads over to the second subject, Hermes 'himself'.

16  $\text{[. ]}$ : left side of omicron or sigma. If  $\text{μνησώμεθα}$  is right (too much ink for  $\text{μνησώμεθα}$ ),  $\text{πάντων δ' ὄσ[α]}$  rather than  $\text{πάντων δός[ ] σ[φ]ήν}$ ?

19 Prima facie  $\text{[ενον οὔρεσι τόσσα}$ .

22  $\text{κοινάει? ἐν[ ] ἀνοκίνας}$  (*Il.* 14. 213 etc.), for  $\text{ἀγκ-?}$  The poet is perhaps beginning his encomium with Antinous' birth.

23  $\text{ἀνηκ[]}$ :  $\text{ἀνήκω}$  or  $\text{ἀνίημι}$ ? If the first,  $\text{ἄρθος ἀνήκ[εν]}$  might mean 'reached the fine flower (of youth)'; if the second, 'sent up a fine flower'. Homeric  $\text{καρπὸν ἀνήκεν}$  (*HH Dem.* 471, cf. Nonn. *P.* 24) favours the second. Antinous is born, like a flower in the spring?

## 3538. MELIC VERSE

fr. I 11.5 × 12.5 cm

Late first/early second century

The pieces collected under this number are the remains of what was an uncommonly handsome manuscript (or perhaps more than one), containing what I cannot describe more precisely than as melic verse. The accentuation  $\text{υμνησῶ}$  (fr. 27. 6) leads one to expect to find Doric compositions, but the Doric element in the disappointingly incomplete structures, which are all that I have managed to assemble, amounts to no more than the conventional  $a$  for  $\eta$  and I suppose  $\text{μοικᾶν}$  (fr. 27. 4). There is nothing that I see to suggest the authorship of one of the major composers of Doric poetry. If any clue is offered by the ambiguously preserved name in fr. 2. 5, I have made nothing of it.

The text is written in a firm, upright capital of average size and slightly above, generously spaced in respect of letters, lines, and columns. Hands resembling this, though much inferior in execution, such as II 216 and XXXIX 2879, are attributed to the end of the first or the early part of the second century. There are two or three marginal additions which look as if by a coarser pen (fr. 1 i 7, fr. 26 (a) 2, 6; not fr. 28. 2 interl., cursive of ordinary thickness). Lection signs employed are: the three accents, 'long' and 'short', apostrophe for elision. In these two pens seem to be distinguishable, on comparison for example of fr. 1. 12 f. with fr. 2. 9; the first perhaps the same as that of the text.

fr. 1	col. i	col. ii
	. . . . .	
	]. . . [	
	] . . . [ ]βην	[
5	]δέσ' υμνοι	ου[ ] . [
	]. . . ρατοιωνωχα	μηφε[
	]θρεψασαυτονενκαλυξιν <sup>ἵππαι</sup> <sub>8α</sub>	κλεος[
	]αμφι[ [ο]ναον	μειμπ[
	]. νευωδημεδεῖ	μαινο[ fr. 1(a)
10	]γεχρ[ . ]σεθωπα	δάγμα[
	]ικκον'τερενδε	. . . . .
	]πακᾶνθεᾶι	. . . . .
	]μαν . . . ᾠθε	. . . . .
	]αρυνομαιδεγυια [	. . . . .
15	]χυρπνο[ . ]κιανων [	. . . . .
	]αινωιφρ[ ] . [	. . . . .

fr. 1

col. i 1 The base of a circle, followed by a dot on the line 3], the foot of an upright, hooked up to left . . . [ the lower part of a stroke descending well below the line with a tail swinging to left, followed by the lower left-hand arc of a circle 6]. . . . , the foot of a stroke rising with a slight slope to right, followed at an interval by a dot on the line and this by the foot of a stroke strongly hooked to right 8 See commentary 9]. , the right-hand arc of a circle 10 Of ]ν only the right-hand upright [ι] seems to suit the space best 13 After ν the start of a stroke rising to right, then the top of a slightly forward sloping stroke above the top of the letters, a speck level with the top of the letters, at a slightly lower level part (top?) of a stroke rising to right 16 Of ρ only the end of the tail

col. ii. 12 . [ , the left-hand arc of a circle 14]. . . . , the left-hand and right-hand ends of a flat stroke as of τ, with a trace on the line below the right-hand end 15]. , specks suggesting the extreme ends of the branches of κ. There might be room for a preceding ι

fr. 1 (a)

I think this stands opposite fr. 1 ii 10-14, presumably in the same column.

1 . [ , a speck on the line 2 . [ , the right-hand end of a cross-stroke, as of γ . [ , a slightly tilted upright with the start of a stroke going to right from its top

fr. 1 col. i. 5 ]δέε' υμνοι.

6 ἐ]πρηρατ- may be a possibility.

6f. ᾠ χα|ρι-?

7 There is a verbal similarity to Ibycus, *PMG* 288 cε . . . ἐν ἄνθεσι θρέψαν.

αὐτόν marg. τ(ὸν) παῖδα.

8f. There is a dot on the edge of the papyrus which may be the end of an interlinear sign or letter. 8 ἀμφι ναόν 'about the temple'. The superfluous ο struck out and dotted above and below.

9 εὐώδη με δεῖ.

δεῖ, in the place of χρή, is attested once in Homer (*Il.* ix 337), but is alien to early lyric, except that Pindar admits it at *Ol.* vi 28, δεῖ κάμερον ἔλθεῖν, presumably to avoid repeating the χρή of the preceding verse. (At *Pyth.* iv 1 f. κάμερον χρή σε . . . στᾶμεν.) I think its occurrence must be doubted at XXI 2299 fr. 8(a) ii 16 (Alcaeus, *PLF* 259).

10 Whatever the temptation, I do not think χρ[η] can be accommodated.

11 ff. e.g. *τέρεν δεῖ* | . . . ᾠ]πασαν, ᾠρ]πασαν, εἰ]πασαν θεαί, *simm.* But I do not see the point of the 'short' on the second a.

τέρεν: of flowers *PMG* 929 (e) 4, 943 ναρκίσκου τερνώτερον, cf. Ibycus *PMG* 315. 2 *τέρεινα δάφνα*.14 Cf. λάθρη γυῖα βαρύνεται *Il.* xix 165.

15 ᾠ]γυρίνο[υ]c indicated. The Homeric ἀπίνους νύκτας ἵανον *Il.* ix 325, *Od.* xix 340 suggest the supplement *νύκτας* here.

fr. 2	fr. 3
. . . . .	. . . . .
]αν[	] [[ω]]δ[ . . . ] [
]λεςχευς[	]αινο[ . [ ]έκάνσ'ο[
]αιγλαι [	]ταιθυπεκφερω[
]. ανικα[ . ] [	]ωι [ ] [
5 ] . κενικαγορα [	5 ]
]κεσιπεπλων[ ] [	] . ομ[
]. εν [	. . . . .
] [ . ται [	. . . . .
]. τῆμα [	. . . . .

fr. 2

3 Of ]α only the extreme lower end of the right-hand stroke 4 . [ , the upper end of a stroke rising flatly from left; *prima facie* not κ or χ, perhaps γ . [ , the left-hand arc of a circle 5 . [ , the lower part of an upright 7 Before ε a dot above the general level 8 ] . [ , an interlinear dot, probably a stop . [ . , two traces, perhaps representing the loop of ρ, near the left-hand end of the bar of τ 9 ] . [ , a speck on the line

fr. 2. 2 I can give no account of ]λεςχευς[ as a form or derivative of any recorded word.

5 Nicagora as a female name e.g. *Paus.* ii 10. 3. Several historical bearers of the man's name, Nicagoras, *RE* s.v.

6 ἐλ]κεσιπέπων: of Trojan (*Il.* vi 442, *al.*), Lesbian (Alcaeus 130. 32) women. Later, of a Nereid (*Nonn. Dion.* i 103), of Hero (*Musaeus* 286).

fr. 3

1 Above the ω, deleted by being struck through, there is ink which I cannot interpret as either a substituted letter or an accent . [ , the left-hand lower arc of a circle 2 ]c written on ι? . [ , two specks, one vertically above the other, below the line 4 Above ι an interlinear dot 5 f, partly skinned 6 ] . [ , the lower end of a stroke curving down from left

	fr. 4		fr. 5		fr. 6		fr. 7
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .
	] λεϵ [		]νε. [		] [		. . . [
	] [		]ιϵθ [		] αιαι. [		] . τὰϵο. [
	] [		]ιϵμ [		] . [		] ου [ ] . [
3	] , αδι [		] . ίντ [		. . .		] . . [
	] [	5	] . τ. [		. . .		. . .
	] [		. . .		. . .		. . .
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .

fr. 4  
3 ] . , κ or χ

fr. 5  
1 ] , the lower part of a stroke descending with a slight leftward curve below the line, ?ρ 2 ]ι close to the edge, ν possible 4 ] . , a very short arc below the general level of the tops of the letters 5 ] . , a thick dot, the blob of an upright?, level with the tops of the letters Of τ only the bar ] . [ , perhaps the top of a circle, but oddly angular

fr. 7  
1 ] . , a short piece of a flat stroke on the line (? a serif) ] , the lower left-hand arc of a circle 2 ] . , a trace just off the line What I have represented as a 'grave' is in a damaged place; it looks like the bottom left-hand arc of a small circle having a projection at its upper end ] . [ , a speck level with the top of the letters and another below it on the line 3 Above ο a comma-like sign, perhaps apostrophe ] . [ , a speck level with the top of the letters 4 A speck level with the top of the letters followed by a tall upright as of φ, ψ

	fr. 8		fr. 9		fr. 10		fr. 11
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .
	] . [		] . ρξο. [		] ϵ. [		] κην [ ]
	] . λ. [		] τεφρ [		. . .		] . ητανερωτ [
	] . θε [		] . εμ [		. . .		] . . α·ϵδ. [
	] ενο [		. . .		. . .		. . .
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .

fr. 8  
1 The lower end of a thin stroke ascending to the right 2 ] . , the end of a stroke descending from left, α or λ likely ] . [ , the start of a stroke ascending to right; prima facie à indicated 3 ] . , a speck about level with the top of ε and a blob below the line on the edge of the worm-run, e.g. ρ θ now looks more like ε Of ε [ the cross-stroke represented by a speck; ο may be preferable

fr. 9  
1 ] . , two disjointed traces below the line Of ρ the loop is barely represented by a couple of specks ] . [ , the middle of the left-hand arc of a circle 3 ] . , the top of a slightly forward sloping upright at an interval from ε Of μ only the left-hand apex

fr. 10  
] . [ , left-hand arc of a circle

fr. 11  
1 Of ]κ only the foot of the upright and lower end of lower branch After ν there was no letter, there could have been a stop 2 ] . , perhaps not part of a letter, but leftward protrusion of the cross-stroke of η 3 ] . . , the top of a lopsided circle, perhaps ρ but on the large side, followed by the top of a circle as of ϵ, simm. ] . [ , a trace level with the top of the letters

	fr. 12		fr. 13		fr. 14		fr. 15
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .
	] . . . [		] παρθ [		] . π [		] . [ ] . [
	] ρεο. [		] ομο. [		] λε [		] . οιο. [
	] αιφι. [		. . .		. . .		] . ιδ [
	] . ε. [		. . .		. . .		. . .
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .

	fr. 16		fr. 17		fr. 18		fr. 19
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .
	] δε. [		] φε [		] . . [		] ψ. . . [
	] ακ [		] . ιοχ [		] . ρο [		] κεραν [
	. . .		. . .		. . .		] ` [
	. . .		. . .		. . .		. . .

fr. 12  
1 Bases of three or four letters, which look smaller than the rest 2 The dot in the centre of ο, if not casual, presumably converts it into θ ] . [ a tallish upright, perhaps κ, if not ruled out by θ 3 ] . [ , the lower part of a slightly tilted stroke 4 ] . , a speck on the line ] . [ , the left-hand end of a cross-stroke as of τ

fr. 13  
2 ] . [ λ seems likeliest, though the left-hand stroke looks anomalously low

fr. 14  
1 ] . , the lower part of a stroke descending with a slight curve from left; α or λ

fr. 15  
1 ] . [ , a dot below the line; not part of a letter ] . [ , a trace on the line 2 ] . , the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of γ ] . [ , the edge of a slightly concave upright; ν suggested 3 ] . , the overhang and perhaps a trace of the turn-up of ϵ or the like

fr. 16  
1 . [ , the left-hand end of a flat stroke on the line

fr. 17  
2 ] . , the right-hand end of the cross-bar of γ or τ

fr. 18  
1 ] . , the lower part of a circle, ρο . [ , perhaps only a high stop      2 ] . , below the line a short concave stroke

fr. 19  
1 After ν a headless upright, followed at an interval by what looks like the lower parts of κ and the start of a stroke rising to right

fr. 20	fr. 21	fr. 22	fr. 23
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] [	] . ρφευγω[	] . . . [	] . [
] . . ρ[	] ωνκελη[	] . σφλεγε[	] μι[
] ρις . [	] ςδεμ[	] . ν [	] [ ] . υκυς[
] . ερι . [	. . .	] . ελαυνων [	] αλλ[ . ] . [
. . .	. . .	5 ] . ρυς [	5 ] . ς . [
. . .	. . .	] υποπτερα[	. . .
. . .	. . .	] . [	. . .

fr. 20  
1 ] . , now looks like γ, but I am not sure that the surface is complete      Between this and ρ[ , of which only the lower part of the stalk, the left-hand arc of a circle, apparently not on the line      2 . [ , I suppose τ, but the bar is oddly blurred      3 ] . , a dot on the line      ] . [ , the left-hand arc of a circle

fr. 21  
1 ] . , an angular trace on the line      Of ρ only the base

fr. 22  
1 ] . , a trace on the line suggesting the right-hand end of the base of β . . . [ , the lower part of a stroke descending below the line, e.g. ρ, followed by the base of a circle      2 ε[ , the left-hand arc of a circle with a minimal trace at its centre      3 ] . , the right-hand arc of a circle      4 ] . , a trace, just off the line, on the edge of the break      5 ] . , a speck on the line      The surface is split but I think ρ likelier than θ  
7 The top of a circle

fr. 22. It may be well to say that ll. 3 f. are not the continuations of fr. 21. 1 f. as φευγων, κελητελαυνων.

fr. 23  
3 ] . , on the line the end of a stroke from left      4 . [ , a flat stroke level with the top of the letters

fr. 23. 3 γ]λυκυς.

fr. 24

. . . .  
]. [ .  
]. [ ] . . . [ .  
] μαλικος[ .  
] παλ[ . ] γ[ . ] . . [ .  
5 ] . ιδεπ . ν . [ .  
] . . καια[ .  
] ς[ .

fr. 26 (a)

. . . .  
]. ολεσθαι[ .  
]. αώνοσω[ .  
]. τοφαρμ[ .  
] ροτοιςιν . [ .  
5 ] εθηκεδ[ .  
]. ανψ[ .  
] νάναί[ .  
] ςάπάτ[ .  
] ν[ . (b)  
10 ] . ω[ .  
] ο . [ ] γκ[ .  
] εσθηρα[ .  
] λομενουτ[ .  
] . τυχω[ . ] εχ . [ .  
15 ] πτοντα[ .  
] ε . α . σπευ[ .

fr. 25

(Blank; perhaps top of column)

. . . .  
]. α . [ .  
]. . . . δρα[ .  
] ει . [ . ] . να . [ .  
] παρθενικαίξ . [ .  
5 ] . . . [ ] . . α[ .  
]. . . [ .

fr. 27

. . . .  
] ω . [ . . ] . [ .  
] αυ . [ . ] σε . [ .  
] ποικιλοσυ[ .  
] ↓ μοικάνπι . [ .  
5 ] . ντωιπαι[ .  
] γμνησώτ[ .  
]. φθαλμο[ .  
]. σκια . [ .  
]. εκλιμ[ .  
10 ] αμοσλευ[ .  
] αωσεισαγ[ .  
] η[ ] ιγενεια[ .  
] [ ] ς . κ[ . . ] θεοις . [ .  
] τ[ .

fr. 24

In some places the ink has vanished or nearly, and the traces are too dispersed to suggest possible combinations

5 ] . , the top right-hand arc of a circle      Of π only the left-hand parts; if γ, [ . ] . to be written      Before ν a dot level with the top and a dot below it on the line

fr. 24. 3 (σν-)ο]μάλικος.

fr. 25

Very frail pieces, faded and rubbed, in places obscured by adhering scraps

1 ], upright with foot hooked to left and a short cross-stroke over the top . . . [ , the bottom left-hand arc of a circle 3 ], the right-hand side of a circle . . . [ , an upright with ink going rightwards from just above the foot; possibly the left-hand element of μ?

fr. 26

The vertical relation of (a) and (b), though I think as shown, I cannot establish by actual contact. Since the right-hand side of (a) is skinned in ll. 9-11, I cannot verify it by correspondence with the cross-fibres of (b) ll. 10 f. either

(a) 1 ], the lower end of a stroke descending from left 2 ], a trace off the line Over the first ω with a thicker point a rough breathing and two 'acutes' 3 ], a speck level with the bar of τ 4 ]β, only the underside of the loop [ , the start of a stroke rising to right 6 ], apparently remade, perhaps ψ represented by upper part of central stroke and right-hand branch Above, in a thicker script, the right-hand part of a loop, as of ρ, followed by λ 7 ], not all the ink is accounted for 8 There seem to be traces of a thin horizontal stroke above the first letters 11 ], the end of a stroke descending well below the line

(b) 10 ], the right-hand end of a cross-stroke as of γ 11 ]ν close to the edge; I am not sure that ι is not a better choice 14 ], an upright with top bending slightly over to left [ , ε or θ 16 Before a three dots, two perhaps opposite ends of a cross-stroke level with the top of the letters, the third below the left-hand end of this After a an upright, the spacing suggests ν

fr. 26. (a) 2 f. νόσω[ . . . φαρμ[ακ-?  
? 16 μ]έγαν?

fr. 27

There is a 'joint' on the left, just beyond the beginning of lines

1 ], the left-hand arc of a circle [ ], the lower left-hand arc of a circle 2 ], the lower part of a stroke rising to right, λ? [ , c or o 4 If the ink in the left-hand margin is the upper part of a coronis, it must be remarked that it is different from that at fr. 11 ii 12 f., but I do not think it is an *ancora*, and there is what suggests the right-hand end of a paragrahus between ll. 4 and 5 [ ], a median speck 5 ], a median speck 6 Of ]ν the upper end of the right-hand branch 8 ], a dot near the line [ ], the upper part of a stroke descending to right, followed by a short piece, off the line, of a stroke rising to right 11 Of ] only the left-hand upright 13 In the left-hand margin a sign which I take for a carelessly made *ancora*; below it, by a different pen, the upper part of a stroke rising from left [ ], a long dot just below the line, perhaps the start of a stroke rising to right

fr. 27. 2 ἀλλός would not seem out of place.

3 ὕ[μνος a possibility suggested by Pind. *Ol.* vi 87, *Nem.* v 42.4 Πιε[ , that is, some form or derivative of *Πιερία* suggested, as e.g. *παρὰ Πιερίδων λάχχι δῶρα Μοῦσῶν* Bacch. xix 3 f. or *Μοῦσαι Πιερίθεν* Hes. *Op.* 1.6 ὕμνησῶ: the accent presumably written in accordance with grammatical doctrine about 'Doric', though there seems to be little support for contraction in the first person, see Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion* 123 ff., and add examples *τινάξω* (Alcm. XXIV 2387 fr. 1. 9), *ερυξω* (Stes. XXIII 2360 i 10), *μνασκευοισα* (Stes. XXXII 2618 fr. 1 ii 7), but *κεδασει* (Alcm. 2387 fr. 1. 7), ?*θηγε*[ι(ε) (Stes. 2617 fr. 19. 12), *εξείε* (Ibyc. XV 1790. 47).

7 δ]φθαλμο[-.

9 κ]εκλιμ[-.

10 ff. ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια . . . ἦώς, twice in *Iliad*, a score of times in *Odyssey*, supplies the elements of these three *imilia*. *λευ[- . . . | ἰός* recalls Bacch. fr. 20 C. 22 *λευκίππος ἰός* (cf. *λευκόπυλος ἡμέρα* Aesch. *Pers.* 386, Soph. *Aj.* 673), and Theocritus xiii 11 *ἀ λεύκισπος ἀνατρέχει ἐκ Διὸς ἰός* suggests the further possibility that *ειαν*[- represents some part of *εἰσανιέναι* or *εἰσαναβαίνειν* (cf. e.g. Mimn. fr. 12. 3 ff.).13 If the sign in the margin is the *ancora* that indicates omission made good above, there is a possibility that fr. 28 represents the lost verses (see the apparatus there).

fr. 28

[ [ ] [ ]  
]. θίου[  
[ ] εμῶ[  
[[ ] νοις ]  
] [ ]

5

fr. 29

]καπαρ. [ .  
]. ητικορ[ .  
]. πανανε, [ .  
]ροσεπι. [ .  
]. ρον' αστ[ .  
]. . . ιτ[ .

fr. 30

] . [ . . ] σπο[ .  
] τυχονχ. [ .  
] τόλατυμ[ .  
] ὄματ' ἀλάμ[ .  
5 ] ὠντοδεσ[ .  
] ασανέμο[ .  
] γωφέ . . [ .

fr. 31

] . μονκα[ .  
] ητακεραιφρε[ .  
] . ενασπά, δωρ. [ .  
] ζιοσδοφερ. . . . [ .  
5 ] ελφεσπαίς [ .

fr. 32

] . [ .  
] υτ' ερω[ .  
] . . ιατ[ .  
] ππ[ .

fr. 28

The reason for thinking that this morsel comes from the upper or lower margin of the roll is that it had *prima facie* no writing above or below. It is in the same script as the body of the text, written I think slightly smaller and with slightly less space between verses. Though I cannot trace any of the fibres of the back into those of fr. 27, there is a strong general similarity between the two pieces, so that there is no improbability in the hypothesis that the omission inferred from entry in the margin coincides with the omission indicated by sign against the text

1 ], a dot on the line Of ε only the edge of the top 2 *interl.* Before ε the lower end of a stroke sloping down from left After ω perhaps ε, but rather angular

fr. 29

1 Of ]κ only the right-hand ends of the branches Of ρ only the part below the loop [ ], a short stroke on the line, perhaps part of the base of a circle 2 ], the tip and strongly curved lower part of the right-hand stroke of a letter like μ or π ητ the top parts damaged, η possibly π, γ for τ ruled out by the spacing Of ρ[ the lower part of the tail 3 ], the edge of a slightly convex upright [ ], the upper end of a stroke descending to right 4 [ ], a dot level with the top of the letters 5 ], a speck slightly below the level of the top of the letters 6 ] . . . , a short concave stroke, slightly below the level of the top of the letters, followed by the upper left-hand side of a circle and the apex of a triangular letter (see comm.)

fr. 29. 6 Though this line may be attributable to the same copyist as the others, it seems to me to have a different look. I suggest that it was some kind of heading and that -οδιστ[ , and possibly Αφ]ροδιστ[- , should be recognized.

fr. 30  
 1 ] ., the lower end of a stroke descending in a flat curve from left to meet the clubbed foot of an upright; not υ, perhaps two letters  
 2 ] , the lower part of a stroke rising to right; neither α nor λ without objection  
 3 Between α and τ a light interlinear dot, perhaps casual  
 4 ] ω preferred to ο because of the position of the accent  
 5 A dot off the line, presumed casual, between τ and ο  
 7 After φ the upper left-hand arc of a circle surmounted by an upright, followed by a dot at a slightly higher level and, at an interval, the upper left-hand arc of a circle with a trace below

fr. 30. 3 f. ἀλάμ[πετος is the uniquely available form of supplement. δ]ώματ' ἀλάμπετα with reference to Hades (cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.* 241. 5; 264. 5; 149. 3 f.) suggests that τυμ[β- must be recognized in the preceding verse. But I can make no guess at ]τόλα, which does not appear, with this accent, to be a part of any known nominative, but admissible as a genitive singular of -τόλης (e.g. κωπτόλης) or -τόλας (e.g. Ἀριστόλας).

fr. 31  
 The writing is obscured by the remains of earth, particularly in line 1 and towards the right-hand side  
 2 η might perhaps be read as π Of τ only the foot of the upright with large serif to right  
 3 The 'acute' is on π not on α Before δ the upper part of a stroke descending to right ] , the left-hand arc of a circle?  
 4 Of ]ς only the extreme ends of the opening After ρ perhaps the bases of ων, followed by other traces on the line  
 5 Of α before ε only the base

fr. 31. 2 If τακερός is to be recognized, φρε[ must be separated from it. As far as I can find τακερός 'languishing' is applied only to looks.

5 ἀδ]ελφεῖς 'sister's child'.  
 παῖς: I should have taken disyllabic scansion to be indicated, as at P. Köln II 59. 8 (Alcaeus) παῖς, XV 1790 i 22 (Ibycus) παῖς, but that at XXIV 2387 fr. 3 ii 24 (Alcman) παῖς is written for a monosyllable. At V 841 fr. 1. 12 (Pindar) παῖ appears as might be expected.

fr. 32  
 1 The lower end of a slightly tilted stroke  
 3 ] ., the lower end of a stroke curving down from left, followed by the lower part of what now looks like α or λ, but the surface is disturbed

fr. 33

. . .  
 ]caλ, [  
 ]ορμα[  
 . . .

fr. 34

. . .  
 πα[  
 . [  
 . . .

fr. 35

. . .  
 ]. [ ]. [  
 ]ήν[  
 ]. . [  
 . . .

fr. 33

1 ] , the left-hand arc of a circle  
 2 Of α only the bottom left-hand spur

fr. 34

2 The top of a loop, as of ρ

fr. 35

1 A speck on the line, followed at an interval by the lower part of an upright descending well below the line  
 3 The right-hand angle of η or π, followed by the top of a thick stroke descending to right

fr. 36

. . .  
 ]. [  
 ]κ. [  
 . . .

fr. 37

. . .  
 ]μα[  
 . . .

fr. 38

. . .  
 α[  
 μ[  
 . . .

fr. 39

. . .  
 ]. ν[  
 ]α[  
 . . .

fr. 40

. . .  
 ]αλ. [  
 ]ρν[  
 . . .

fr. 41

. . .  
 ]. μ[  
 ]. οι. [  
 . . .

fr. 36

1 On the line a short piece of a stroke rising to right  
 2 ] , a trace level with the top of κ

fr. 38

1 Of α only the base angle

fr. 39

1 ] ., a dot on the line

fr. 40

1 ] α, very unsatisfactory, the lower left-hand stroke being too flat ] , the start of a stroke rising to right The presumed hyphen might be an inordinately long, cranked acute  
 2 ν[ close to edge; ι may be possible

fr. 41

1 ] ., a short arc of the bottom right-hand part of a circle  
 2 ] ., a dot not quite level with the top of the letters ] , the central left-hand arc of a circle

fr. 42

. . .  
 ] [  
 ώς. . [  
 ]. . [  
 . . .

fr. 43

. . .  
 ]νικ[  
 ]. [  
 . . .

fr. 44

. . .  
 ]γ. [  
 ]. ρ[  
 . . .

fr. 45

. . .  
 ]οτρ[  
 . . .

fr. 46

. . .  
 ] [  
 ]. ξ[  
 . . .

fr. 42

There is a 'joint' near the right-hand edge

1 . . . [ the lower part of a tilted stroke, followed by the start of a stroke rising to right 2 ] . , the right-hand arc of a circle [ the tip of an upright

fr. 43

2 The upper end of a stroke descending to right

fr. 44

1 . [ a dot on the line 2 ] . , the top right-hand corner of π, or the like

fr. 46

] . , the mid right-hand arc of a circle

## 3539. MELIC VERSE WITH NOTATION

43 5B.64/H(1-2)c

Fr. 2 10.5 × 7.5 cm

Third-fourth century

A curious text written in a third- or fourth-century documentary hand. The irregular line-lengths indicate that the text is in verse, and indeed if a little less were preserved it would have been confidently pronounced to be in hexameters (fr. 2. 1 --- *κόματος ἀμβροσι*. [ 2 --- *θυμὸ[ν] ἔχων* [ 3 --- *νιν ἐγείρων*·, 4 --- *σι καλεύειν*·, 5 --- *φίλτρον ἐρώτων*·); as it is, the metre cannot be categorized. But it is the notation that is particularly puzzling. Arcs, looking something like circumflex accents, somewhat variable in size, shape, and stance, are at certain places written above the text. They occur singly, and in twos, and in threes; indifferently above consonants and vowels, and spanning letters; and at no regular intervals. On what principle they are applied, or what they signify, is utterly obscure. In the apparatus to the transcription I call them 'arches'. The only other item of notational apparatus is an apparent *breve*, or inverted version of the arch above the *ω* of *ἐγείρων* at fr. 2. 3 (*εγυρῶν*). That is hardly less enigmatic. The signs cannot be lection aids in the conventional sense (the battery of symbols devised to ensure correct recognition of the words constituting the text: *προςωδία*i and *πάθη*); nor do they seem to have a properly metrical function; they are not applied exclusively to vowels or even to individual syllables. They must superimpose something that is not textually inherent. That is to say, they must be related to performance of the text; they may enjoin some manner of performance of the text itself or be instructions pertaining to some form of accompaniment. In the absence of relevant testimonia and exempla alike, only guesses are possible. Conceivably the signs are to be identified as *leimmata*, the signs used in musical notation to signify, apparently, 'rests' (*λείμμα ἐν ῥυθμῶ χρόνος κενός ἐλάχιστος* Aristid. Quintil. 1. 18); the *leimma* is well known from the musical documents, where it often takes this loose form (∩ = Λ = *λείμμα*). Their function here might then be to regulate the pace of delivery (the *ἀγωγή*), something which did exercise ancient rhythmicians (cf. L. E. Rossi, *Metrica e critica stilistica: il termine 'ciclico' e l'ἀγωγή ritmica*); the *leimmata* could signal a retardation. But I cannot say this seems very likely.

The text itself is broken; it yields no continuous sense, and hardly admits even generic or stylistic classification, though it gives perhaps a melodramatic impression. ]*ενηε* (fr. 1. 4) points to ionic. The hand would suggest a local and ephemeral composition rather than a piece of established literature.

High stops at (all?) line ends. Back blank.

fr. 1

. . . .  
]. [  
]. *ωπηγ* [  
] *φιλεθηρ* [ ^  
] *ενηῆσαρετ* . [  
5 ] *σαλ. ω* . [  
] *δέδυσωδη* . [

fr. 2

1 ] *ἰδαποςώματοςαμβροσι* . [  
] *ργῖαδεῖρῆχῆταιθυμο* [ . ] *εχω* [  
] *ο. . γηζ κοννεχιρῶν* . [  
] *ηφιρονομμοασιαλέυν* . [  
5 ] *πιπολυφιλτρονερωτῶν* . [

The vertical alignment of the two fragments is established by the fibres on the back. I cannot verify that they actually join.

fr. 1. 1 ] . [ speck, possibly an arch over first letter of 2 2 ] . , a fairly high half-circle remains, perhaps ρ After ν, perhaps blank 4 . [ leg compatible with η 5 ] . , suggestive of small circle, perhaps ο . , perhaps λ 6 . [ left of circle, perhaps ε Slight traces above in appropriate position for arch, so transcribed

fr. 2. 1 ] . , an isolated speck at letter-base level Top of second (word-final) ε prolonged . [ a mere speck 2 ] . , a mere speck trema uncertain tail of α extended [ . ] , the space is suitable for ε, rather small for ν, and one would expect the top right of ν to be visible 3 . . , two legs, the latter descending further Arch uncertain, but I see abraded traces Top of ε prolonged (word-final) 4 η or π ιρη abraded but fairly secure Ink between ν and ο could be a high stop 5 ] π, ink through the second hasta, which I take to be casual

fr. 1. 2 *Εὐ]ρώπηη*? If ρ is right, alternatives are not readily found (*κυθρωπός* being usually of two terminations). The Europa story lent itself to romantic and I dare say melodramatic treatment. *φιλεθήρ* in the next line could be addressed by Europa to the bull. But it would be strained to relate the entire text to that encounter (whose details vary hardly at all from version to version), and it is difficult to say whether there is anything in this at all.

3 *φιλεθήρ* is not inevitable. The two words need not go together (and *θήρ* does not comport too well with the expected ∪ ∪ - [ - ]), and *φιλε* could be e.g. *ἀ]φιλε* = *ἀ]φείλε*.

- 4 -ενίης ἀρετη(-) seems likeliest. ξ]ενίης (noun or adj.), π]ενίης, παρθ]ενίης, *al.*  
 5 Perhaps ἄλλω.  
 6 δucώδης. οὐ]δέ δucώδης? Line end?

fr. 2. 1 The blank space before *ιδ* is most naturally taken as indicating word division at least. So *ιδ*' (or *ιδ*' i.e. *ειδ*')? Imperative or indicative?

ἀπό σώματος ἀμβροσί. [: adjective or noun (-σίη)? The speck of ink could be *ο* or *η* or practically anything. Cleansing a body with ambrosia (cf. *Il.* 14. 170, 16. 680)? But -σίη would provide a line end comparable with the rest (υ υ -). Anything ambrosial will not be δucώδης; Zeus metamorphosed as a bull had an ἀμβροτος δδμή, Mosch. 2. 91 (cf. κρόκον ἔπνει, Hes. fr. 140MW = Bacchyl. fr. 10 Sn, and [if ἀποπνέων is read for ἀποπλέων] Apollod. 3. 1. 1).

2 εἰς] ὄρχια (c.g.) δ' ἔρχεται θυμὸ[ν] ἔχων (+ adjective with θυμὸ[ν]?) could be the construction.

3 γῆς(?) κόνιν ἐγύρων (i.e. ἐγείρων). ἐγείρω parts so scanning are regularly verse-final in Homer, but the verb is not there used with substances such as dust.

4 ]ηφιρον: I cannot improve on the reading, which yields nothing remotely plausible. *η* might perhaps be read for *ιο* (not *ρο*) but that hardly helps. But to suggest an orthographic error such as *φ* for *π* (c.g. νήπιον) would be drastic. As for ὄμμασι καλεῖν (i.e. καλεῖν), the two words may go together, or καλεῖν may relate to the sea (still Europa?).

5 ἐ]πὶ πολὺ (not (ἐ)πινον, as I first tried to read) φίλτρον ἐρώτων (or Ἐρώτων).

Since the lower edge of the papyrus seems to be preserved, there is no reason to think that this is the end of the composition rather than merely the end of a column.

## 3540. COMEDY

6.6 × 25 cm

First century

This narrow strip from a papyrus roll, of which the back is blank, preserves part of a single column at what is apparently its full original height: there are 36 lines in 19 cm, with upper and lower margins of 2.5 and 3.5 cm respectively. The handwriting is upright, rounded and fluent, with some cursive elements; a date in the first century AD may be suggested.

Ends of comic iambic trimeters are recognizable from the colloquial Attic of the language, the patterns of resolution, and the relatively uniform line-length. Trochaic tetrameters would be expected to give a less regular column, especially if as freely resolved as the surviving part of these lines suggests; and in that metre a verse-ending of the type τῶ γεγενημένω (28) would be a great rarity at any period of Attic comedy.<sup>1</sup>

No signs of punctuation are present; a grave accent appears to be written over *τις* in 10; elision is ostensibly present, but unmarked, in 21 and 25, and *scriptio plena* in 36; the first letters preserved from 17 have a short horizontal line under them for which I have no ready explanation, unless it derives from a much prolonged low horizontal of a preceding letter, similar to the base of *β* in 23 and of *ζ* in 25; if cancellation was intended, no fault is to be seen or to be detected from the metre, and no variant is present.

Several indications suggest that the fragment is from a narrative speech. There are no signs from punctuation or language to indicate a change of speakers; there is, on the other hand, a plurality of third person verbs in past tenses (17, 21, 25, 36) and of participles (10, 16, 26, 28 τῶ γεγενημένω, 33, (?) 36). There are other expressions typical

<sup>1</sup> Handley, *Dyskolos of Menander*, 71 f., updated by Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander: a Commentary*, 39.

of a narrator marking stages in his story: *ἴνα δὲ συντέμω* (12), *ἐκείνος τότε* (24), *ἡ τεκοῦσα δέ* (34). Yet another characteristic of narrative may be seen in the mixture of definite specification (for what the listener is supposed to know of) and indefinite (for what he is at the time expected to accept): 13 *δίδυμα θυγάτρια*, 14 *τῆ τροφῶ*, 15 *τὴν οἰκίαν* (and again in 20), 31 *οἰκέτη τινί*, 34 *ἡ τεκοῦσα*. As to the content of the supposed narrative, the frequency of words for *child, children*, strikes one at once: 8 *θυγατ-*; 13 *δίδυμα θυγάτρια* (it may be that *ἐζωσμένα* in 16 means 'swaddled' and refers to these); 18 and 27 *παιδίον*. With these we have 'the nurse' of 14, a female friend in 19, *οἰκέτης τις* 'a slave' in 31, and 'the mother' of 34 to take into account. *Prima facie* the narrative is from an exposition speech of a comedy with the familiar theme of infants exposed or abandoned, and later, in the course of the plot, to be recognized. The first person verb in 4, *ἐλήλυθα* or a compound, is very suitable to be part of the speaker's opening explanation of why he or she has come (or come forward) to speak to the audience; and it is thus to be considered possible that the speech, or indeed the play, begins with this very column. In the latter case, the fragment will be a piece broken from the outside of a roll in a way that one might expect to happen often with well-used books.

If this view of the nature of the piece is correct, one can suggest further points which may be worth exploring. Exposition speeches, which give the background of a dramatic action, sometimes allude more or less directly to the play's title: an example is Menander's *Dyskolos* or *Misanthrope* where at 6 f. Knemon is described as *ἀπάνθρωπος τις ἄνθρωπος σφόδρα, καὶ δύσκολος πρὸς ἅπαντας*. Accordingly, the 'twin little daughters' of 13 might make one think of *Δίδυμαι* 'Girl-twins' as a possible title, and in fact plays of that title are known both from Antiphanes and from Menander, the former with the alternative title *Αὐλητρὶς*.<sup>1</sup> Since moreover there is a well-known tendency for lines near the opening of a play to be remembered, there is a reasonable chance that something which fits this fragment will have survived among the quotations from known plays or unknown, in the way that is strikingly illustrated by the beginning of Menander's *Misoumenos*, as recovered from XLVIII 3368-70 and related texts. So far, it must be admitted, the results obtained from this approach to the question of identity offer a challenging possibility rather than a securely tenable conclusion; but a summary presentation may still be in place as a preface to commentary on the preserved words themselves.

Aristophanes, as is known to all connoisseurs of the comic prologue, began his lost *Second Thesmophoriazusae* with an exposition speech by Kalligeneia; Kalligeneia is listed in the *Lexicon* of Photius as having, according to his authorities, more than one identity, and in particular 'Aristophanes the comic poet has her as Demeter's nurse'; this figure, whatever her other associations with Demeter, in Athens took her name, Kalligeneia, from the third day of the Thesmophoria. This all being so (the relevant texts are cited below), we have noted already that our fragment shows several signs of being part of an

<sup>1</sup> The very end of Antiphanes' play *Anthropogonia* together with its title is preserved in III 427 in a copy assigned to the third century AD.



exposition speech; and can add that nominatives in lines 1–2, preceding the statement ‘I have come’ (or ‘come forward’) in 4 are aptly placed to be part of a description of the speaker’s identity: ἡ τρίτη is the third of something quite possibly indicated by -ίων (therefore perhaps Θεεμοφορ]ίων), and τροφός is preceded by letters which readily admit, though they do not demand, the restoration Δῆ]μητρος. Add to this that what may be a coincidence between l. 5 and a quotation from an unspecified play by Aristophanes gives a further (though not dependable) pointer in the same direction, while a quotation from the *Δίδυμοι* of Menander, which appears (as if for temptation’s sake) to suit l. 4 proves on closer inspection very unlikely to do so.

There is thus some indication that the fragment may come from the beginning of Aristophanes, *Second Thesmophoriazusae*. That identification is, on the face of it, in conflict with the general impression of a New Comedy plot given by the content as analysed above, a plot quite untypical of Aristophanes as known from the eleven plays that survive complete. There seem to be three possibilities. First, it could be that all the supposed pointers towards Kalligeneia and Aristophanes are misleading, and that any clues to the play’s identity that are found will come from elsewhere; second, if Kalligeneia is the speaker and the presumed connections with Aristophanes are not maintained, it can be supposed that some later poet borrowed her as a person to introduce a play, echoing Aristophanes’ opening (but if so, that play is disregarded by our sources);<sup>1</sup> and finally, we have to face the thought that the plot of the *Second Thesmophoriazusae* (of which next to nothing is known) may in some ways have been ahead of its time in using motifs which became much more familiar later when fourth-century poets exploited them. A case can in fact be made for the third view. Our surviving selection from Aristophanes (so it would be argued) strongly favours the early political plays, while excluding some number of others which we have reason to suppose would be of special interest in regard to later developments in comedy. Setting the present piece aside (the argument would continue) there are already some signs in the few remains of the *Second Thesmophoriazusae* that Aristophanes was moving in directions which his successors were to find fruitful; and moreover (a final point) some of the surviving treatises on the history of comedy do point out ways in which Aristophanes anticipated Menander and his contemporaries, not least in plots involving rapes and recognitions.<sup>2</sup> But the evidence being what it is, I have preferred that the piece should be published under the non-committal heading ‘Comedy’, to await what further evidence may come forward and what discussion it will receive.

<sup>1</sup> Philyllios, *Herakles* 8K has Dorpia, representing the first day of the Apaturia, as a prologue figure, and he may well have derived the idea from Aristophanes; but note, as a variation, that Dorpia does not declare her name at the start: βούλεθε δῆτ’ ἐγὼ φράσω τίς εἰμ’ ἐγώ; | ἡ τῶν προτενθῶν Δορπία καλομένη.

<sup>2</sup> See the commentary on 13.

	]ιωνητριτη	]ιων ἡ τρίτη
	]ητροστροφος	]μητρος τροφός
	]ονοσεσπερας	]ονος ἐσπέρας
	]βεληλυθα	]ελήλυθα
5	]ωτηρια.[	]ζωτηρία (?)
	]...[ ±7 ].	
	]ρονο[	
	]θυγατ.[	
	]ωνετε.[	
10	]ειδωστιση.[	]εἰδὼς τίς ἦν
	].....ο..[	
	]ραδεσυντεμω[	]να δὲ συντέμω
	]διδυμαθυγατρια[	]δίδυμα θυγάτρια
	]σιτητροφω	]σι τῆ τροφῶ
15	]οστηνοικιαν	]οσ τὴν οἰκίαν
	]μεζωσμενα[	]μ’ ἐζωσμένα
	]ελειπαρηξετις[	]ἐλιπάρηξέ τις
	]εσθαιπαιδιον	]μεσθαι παιδίον
	]νηθησκαφιλη[	συ]νήθησ καὶ φίλη
20	]νεπιτηνοικι.[	]ν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκία[ν
	]ωστρεβουλετο	]ωστ’ ἐβούλετο
	]του...[ω..ρα	
	]υβαδιζο.....[	]υ βαδίζοι [
	]νεκεινοστοτε	]ν ἐκεῖνος τότε

2 ] , a curve rising into a small loop, then descending, suggests latter half of μ 3 ] , horizontal with backward-curving stroke beneath it appears to join ο; perhaps τ or γ 4 ] ρ, the letter here read as rho has a joining stroke to its left, as ]αρ; in this variable hand ]ν is perhaps not ruled out, but looks improbable from the shape of the loop 5 At the end, perhaps only α with long final stroke, as (e.g.) in 4 and 32; but there seems to be more ink than that: what was written may have been -αc as in εσπερας (3) or -αν as in οικιαν (15) 6 Foot of descending curve, as λ; parts of top and base of round letter (ε, ο); feet of two verticals (e.g. ν, π); then traces of top and bottom of a similar letter, perhaps η 7 ] , a horizontal, possibly from α: see 5 n. above 7 ] , an upright with curved foot, e.g. part of π or η 8 ] , most likely a vertical: i.e. θυγατρ[ rather than θυγατρε[ 9 ετε. [ or possibly εχε. [ as for ἐγέ[ετο 12 I first read δερον; δεσυν is as acceptable a reading and gives excellent sense 13 Irregular smudge of ink above δυ does not look like a letter 17 I do not know how to interpret the short horizontal line under the verse here; but see note on 25 below 22 ] , foot suggests ε or c; then, if not τ, γ. Perhaps πομη-, πομηρ-, and at end ωσρα 23 βαδιζοιεν might be read; then part of rounded letter, part of upright and horizontal; last ... [

25	] ζουωχετο	-] ζουσ' ὤχετο
	] . σεωωμενον	] σεωωμένον
	] . αμακαιπαιδιον	] . ἄμα και παιδιον
	] ετωγεγενημενω	] ε τῷ γεγενημένῳ
	] τουςχη . . . . ην	
30	] . ονεκ . . . ρ . τροπου	
	] . αγρονοικετητινι	] . ἀγρόν οϊκέτη τινί
	] . ωπ . . ωμιδα	] . ω πιςτῷ Μίδα
	] . ηφρασαφερειν	] φράσας φέρειν
	] ιζητεκουραδε	] ις ἡ τεκοῦσα δέ
35	] . . [ . . . ] . . [	
	] . ααπεπλευσενευθ . [	-] ζ' ἀπέπλευσεν εὐθέ[ωσ

is perhaps *ων* 25 I first read ]ζουσ, which some photographs suggest, but *ο* is clear on the original; the appearance of a horizontal line below *ο* is given, I think, by the last stroke of ζ; the base of β in 23 is comparable, as is the presumed horizontal line under 17 (? from ξ, P.J.P.) 26 Begins with low linking stroke, as ]α 29-30 I have not so far succeeded in interpreting the traces of letters on damaged and twisted fibres 31 ] . , horizontal joins upright; untypical if ν, but η is no better 32 ] . , a curve, as c, or curving upright; after ωπ the surface is damaged, perhaps ωπιστω 33 ] . , rising stroke joins η, as if κ or μ 35 Stripped 36 ] . , horizontal link stroke suggests c or τ

1-2 The lines imaginably ran like this:

Ἦκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς Θεσμοφορίων ἢ Τρίτη  
κληθεῖσα Καλλιγένεια Δημήτρος τροφός,

recalling the manner of a Euripidean god, like Poseidon at *Trō.* 1 ff. This way of beginning a play is often echoed by comic poets: for instance, Aristophanes, *Gerytades* 155 K; Menander, *Naukleros* 286 KT; and the opening speeches of Plautus, *Amphitruo* and *Rudens*, based on an unknown poet and on Diphilus respectively.

This speculative restoration is arrived at as follows: (i) there are various indications from the content and language that the fragment is part of an exposition speech from a comedy; these are summarily presented in the introductory note above; (ii) there is the remarkable coincidence—if it is a coincidence—with what is known of the beginning of Aristophanes, *Second Thesmophoriazusae* (Ar. fr. 335 K, 317 Edmonds). The facts are: (a) Schol. *Thes.* 298 describes Kalligeneia as δαίμων περὶ τὴν Δημήτραν, ἣν προλογίζονταν ἐν ταῖς ἐτέραις Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις ἐποίησεν; (b) Photius, i. 308, says of Kalligeneia Ἀπολλόδωρος μὲν τὴν γῆν· οἱ δὲ Διὸς και Δημήτρος θυγατέρα· Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς τροφόν (she is Demeter's nurse also in Nonnus, *Dion.* 6. 140, ἐὼν εὐπαιδα τιθήνη; and see Hesychius K472 Latte).

It is obvious at sight that the restoration Δημήτρος is no more than a possibility (though the accommodation of 'mother's nurse' in the plot of a comedy requires thought); what keeps the possibility before the mind is the need to account for ἡ τρίτη as the third feminine entity in a group presumably (though not provably) indicated by -ων. That Καλλιγένεια was, properly speaking, the third day of the Thesmophoria, after *Nῆστεια*, the middle day, and *Ἄνοδος*, is generally taken for granted, in spite of the confusion created since antiquity by Aristophanes' reference at *Thes.* 80 to the middle day as the third. The problem cannot be rehearsed here, but it may be that μέση (and if so τρίτη) was retained as a traditional (and quasi-proper) name for the day in question after the fusion into the festival of an event on the day before *Ἄνοδος*: see Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932) 52, following Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* (1906) 317.

3 Perhaps this line indicated the circumstances of the arrival or approach described in 4.

4 π]αρελήλυθα seems likeliest, possibly used in the same way as in the speech of Brasidas at Thuc. 4. 86,

which is quoted by LSJ for the sense *adsum*. Menander's *Δίδυμοι* (fr. 105 KT) is quoted for ὄρνεις φέρων ἐλήλυθα, which would offer a doubtful equation with the present line even if ]γ were a probable reading, since (apart from the mention of twin daughters in 13) it lacks verification from the context, and gives a masculine form in unwelcome conflict with the feminines of 1-2.

5 Photius under ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος quotes Aristophanes (play unspecified) for the line ἀγαθός τε δαίμων κάγαθή σωτηρία (fr. 35 D, 970 HG, 650c Edmonds). This would seem eminently acceptable as a description of Kalligeneia, whose name and connection with the Earth Mother proclaim her as a promoter of safe and successful birth. ἀγαθή σωτηρία looks like an expression modelled on ἀγαθή τύχη or indeed ἀγαθός δαίμων itself: the feminine personification Kalligeneia can be said to be these things just as it is said of Eirene in the *Peace* τοῖς ἀγροίκουσιν γὰρ ἦεθα χίδρα και σωτηρία (595). But there is a reservation to be stressed: apart from the risk of depending on an equation with a single word—and one likely to gravitate to line-end—it is not clear that σωτηρία, rather than -ac or -an was in fact written; and to assume corruption without more evidence than is before us would be a gambler's throw. π]αρελήλυθα - - - ἐπι] σωτηρία would do: see Thuc. 4. 86, quoted on 4.

7 Highly ambiguous: could accommodate ]προνο[ουμένη or πον]ηρόν δ[ντα, for instance.

10 Does the grave accent, as is here assumed, mark an indirect rather than a direct interrogative? If εἰδώσ and not a compound is present, οὐκ] εἰδώσ is an easy guess, of the twins' father not knowing their mother.

12 ]να δὲ συντέμω (or, failing that, ]να δ' ὄδν <συν>τέμω) was proposed in agreement by H. Lloyd-Jones and M. L. West in a discussion in Oxford in December 1975. The speaker acknowledges that he or she is telling a story and not (at least supposedly) thinking aloud: cf. E. *Telephus* 8 ἀλλὰ συντεμῶ λόγον, and *Melanippe Sophie* 11 f. ἀλλ' ἀνοιστέος λόγος ἐπ' ὄνομα τοῦμόν κεί' ὅθενπερ ἠρέξάμην: the imitation of the Euripidean idiom may be deliberate.

13 Girl-twins seem remarkably scarce in myth (Helen and Clytaemnestra are something of a special case); but they come into their own in comic plots involving mistaken identity, of which a classic example is Menander's *Dis Exapaton*, adapted by Plautus as *Bacchides*.

Aristophanes, *Second Thesmophoriazusae* 327 K, has a joke against Euripides etymologizing on the name of Amphion, twin brother of Zethos in the *Antiope*. The possibility that the present fragment belongs to that play makes it especially interesting in that it may be an early example of the adaptation into comedy of motifs from the type of tragic adventure story represented in the later Euripides: the *Antiope* itself, or the contemporary *Hypsipyle*, also involving a mother and twin sons, could well be an element in the ancestry of the story represented by our fragment.

*Second Thesmophoriazusae* is generally dated to 407 or 406 with Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie* (1925) 63. The upper limit is given by the reference to *Antiope* quoted above: *Antiope* must have been produced, either together with *Hypsipyle* and *Phoenissae* or not far apart, in a year later than that of *Andromeda* (412) and not long before Aristophanes, *Frogs* (405): Schol. *Ran.* 53. The lower date (not after 406) for *Second Thesmophoriazusae* is obtained from a reference to Agathon's antithetical style in fr. 326, but this does not have to have been made before Agathon's departure from Athens or his death (see *Frogs* 83-5 and the commentators there). On the other hand, the fact that the play had a parabasis of some elaboration would not induce one to put it too close to *Ecclesiazusae* and *Plutus*: see K. Deichgräber, 'Parabasenverse aus Thesmophoriazusae II des Aristophanes bei Galen' *SB. Ak. Berlin* 1956. 2 at 21 f.

There are signs even in the scant fragments from quotations that *Second Thesmophoriazusae* was in some ways a transitional play in the process of Aristophanes' (or Greek comedy's) literary development. In one of the parabasis fragments (333 K) the reference to Crates is paralleled by *Knights* (537 ff.), but this time the tone is that of a man proud of his innovations rather than of one jokingly looking back on others' careers. The divine prologue figure and the interest in women and the domestic side of life, following *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*, point forward to the fourth century rather than back, and in particular the list of women's clothes, accessories, cosmetics and the like in fr. 320 reminds one of the list of traders who supply women in Plautus, *Aulularia* 508 ff.<sup>1</sup>

When ancient scholars looked for anticipations of later comedy in Aristophanes, they pointed to two of his last plays, *Aiolosikon* and *Kokalos*. *Aiolosikon*, it was remarked, turned away from personal attacks on contemporaries; it lacked parabasis and choral lyrics, and was coupled with the *Odysseus* of Cratinus as

<sup>1</sup> I leave out of the reckoning II 212 (= Austin, *CGFP* \*62) which has been associated with *Second Thesmophoriazusae* on the slightest of grounds.

a forerunner of the style of mythological drama typical of Middle Comedy; in *Kokalos*, says another source, 'he introduces rape and recognition and all the other things in which Menander follows him'.<sup>1</sup>

All this said, we may well be prepared to be surprised by Aristophanes; but if he is the author of our fragment what is visible of the content and manner does remain surprising.

14 e.g. δίδω[ci, φη]ci.

16 ἐξωσμένα of the infants wrapped in swaddling clothes?

17-19 Were the twins about to be abandoned, and only saved by a sympathetic intercession? In 18 ]μεσθαι (E.G.T.) points to ν[ε]μεσθαι or τε[ε]μέσθαι or a compound of either; not ἀπο]λέσθαι.

24 A short monosyllable, e.g. δ]ν, is metrically indicated: Handley, *Dyskolos of Menander* 66 ff.

25 Probably feminine participle, e.g. βαδίζουε', rather than a word ending -ουε.

32 Μίδας is a slave name in Ar. *Wasps* 433 (and see Strabo 7. 304 C, quoted by Starkie, on it as a Phrygian slave name); this Midas may therefore be the οἰκέτης of the previous line. Apparently not ]τῶ, but possibly another adjective in asyndeton with the supposed πιετῶ.

36 ἀποπλεῖν can be used in less than its literal sense, as a colourful way of saying 'go away': Aristophanes, *Geras* 142 K, discussed by Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophane* (1965) § 212. But there is nothing to show it is not literal here.

## 3541. GNOMAI MONOSTICHOI?

45 5B.57/H(1-3)b

7.5 × 8.3 cm

Second century

Parts of three damaged lines of trimeters, broken above, 3 cm free papyrus below, printed here because the piece was found in the same ground as 3533 and the handwritings are alike. The piece has been cleaned, and I am now reluctant to believe the handwriting is to be identified with that of 3533, certainly not from the same roll. It is smaller and rounder, written with a more finely cut pen; the letters have a more pinched look, and do not show the elegance or the mannerisms of that scribe. The errors are unworthy of him. Written along the fibres, the back being blank.

traces . . . . . ]δ. [. ]. ω. [  
]. . . . . ς. . . . . παιδανγνωτικ' ουτ. . . . . ειβεται  
]. [ . . . . ]πωνουδεσυμβουληνν[

1 Before ω, [, neither ν nor δ fully satisfactory . [, half of an arc, ω or damaged c 2 Above τ of τικ and continuing over ουτ a horizontal line of ink, short vertical marker after τικ First letter could be reconciled with χ There seems to be ink below in the postulated margin 3 ν[: μ less probable

2 *Theognidea* 450 suggests that the verse might have run χρυσὸς δ' ἐπειδὴν γνῶ τις οὐδὲ τρεῖς βεται. It is not quoted anywhere among the *monostichoi* in Jäkel.

3 συμβουλήν is unexpected for the normal συμβουλίαν. Jäkel's index offers it only as an emendation.

<sup>1</sup> Platonius, *de com.* I. 1. 24 f. and 29 ff. Kaibel (1. 22 ff., 27 ff. Koster); the direct quotation is from *vit. Ar.* xi. 69 ff. Dindorf-Dübner (xxviii. 54 ff. Koster). I am grateful to M. Alain Blanchard for encouraging me to pursue these thoughts here.

## 3542. ON ALCMAN'S NATIONALITY?

5 1B.33/F(a)

5.8 × 17.2 cm

Third century

The presence of the names Heracleidae and Lycurgus leads to the inference that this scrap contains matter relating to Laconia; there is a fair case for inferring from the occurrence of ἐκ . . . Λυδικοῦ that there may be present something relevant to the question whether Alcman was Lydian or Laconian. I cannot relate the first part to the second, but from l. 10 onwards it is possible to offer an unforced interpretation compatible with what is already reported elsewhere about Alcman's origin (see M. Treu, *RE Suppl.* xi 23). The supplements suggested claim no more. That he was a child when he came with his father would be a new detail.

The text is written in an average-sized plain capital of a well-represented sort, comparable with e.g. VII 1012, assigned to the third century. It is without lection signs (unless there really is an acute in l. 25), has two self-corrections (iota adscript added in ll. 11 and 23) and another correction by a different hand in l. 11. There is a paragraphus below l. 18; I am not sure that the semblance of a high stop in l. 12 is not due to damage.

	col. i		col. ii
		.	.
1	]α	[	
	]	[	
	] >	[	
	]ν	[	
5		[	
		[ ]ω[	
		[ ]μ[	
	]φ	[ ]ς[	
	]	ρυσ. [ . . . . . ]	ρυσ. [
10	]ενοι-	ηρακλειδων. . . . . [	'Ηρακλειδῶν . [
		τω'κησ[ε]ν παρα[	τωίκτησαν παρα[
	]	νεστατου. εἶνα[	νεστάτου· εἶνα[ι
		κακίζεσθαιδεδ[	κακίζεσθαι δεδ[
		εωωστονηρακλ[	εωωσ τὸν 'Ηρακλ[

Readings in many places doubtful through rubbing, staining or incrustation.

col. i A few line-endings, partly on a long, mostly blank, strip ascending between the columns, from which it may be inferred that at least five lines are lost before col. ii 1 3 Apparently a space-filler

col. ii 9 . [, middle of left-hand arc of a circle? After the gap, bases of 4-6 letters? 12 After ν a dot like a high stop, and a blank

15	καταλυκουργον[ μοιονουαυτον[ περιδετουγενου[ παντελωσαμφ[ οιμενγαρφασιδ[ τουπατεραεκτ[ λυδικουκαταφα.[ δε. [ ]εταστηνα[ συνα[ ]ω'ετιπα[ δ[ ]ξεατονο. [	κατὰ Λυκούργον [ Λακεδαι μόνιον αὐτον[ περὶ δὲ τοῦ γένου[ c αὐτοῦ παντελῶς ἀμφ[ιβητεῖται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασι Δ[άμαντα του πατέρα ἐκτ[ Λυδικού κατὰ φα. [ δε. [μ]εταστηνα[ι cὺν α[ὕτ]ῳ ἔτι πα[
20	25	
	]παρε. [ . . [	

21 . [ , upper part of an upright      22 After δε the lower part of an upright; I am not sure that it is not the left-hand upright of μ      24 Of δ[ only the left-hand base angle      ξ can hardly be believed      . [ , the upper part of an upright      25 . [ , perhaps ω[ or c. [ , but I am uncertain how much is ink

17 f. 'About his origin there is profound disagreement.'

19 f. Damas is one of the two names attributed to Alcman's father (*Suda* s.v. Ἀλκμάν). The other begins with T. 'Some say that D., Alcman's father, removed from Lydian . . . with his son still quite a child.'

The persons named as having made out Alcman to be a Lydian derive him from Sardis. I should expect a mention of the place to which D. removed, perhaps in l. 22.

Of the various senses that could be elicited from καταφ- (16), e.g. 'according to-', 'by way of -', 'at the time of -', and no doubt others, I can make no choice that I should regard as likely in the context.

### 3543. LIFE OF ISOCRATES

57/65(a)

4.7 × 15.4 cm

Second century

A fragment of a *Life* of Isocrates, written on the back of a documentary text of which only a few scant traces remain. The text of the *Life* is in a tiny informal hand with many ligatures, similar to VI 853 (Roberts, *GLH* 17a) and to be assigned a similar date, around the middle of the second century. The surface of the papyrus was already damaged. 3543 may or may not have been part of a set of *Lives* of the canonical ten orators.

Other *Lives* of Isocrates are already extant. One is transmitted in Isocratean manuscripts by Zosimus of Ascalon, the ps.-Plutarchean set provides another (carried also by Photius), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus another. P. Cairo Masp. 67175, of early Byzantine date, gives the beginning of yet another; and there is an entry in the *Suda*. Considerable community of source is evident among all these accounts, along with a variety of independent expansion, abridgement, and conflation. Hermippus π. τοῦ

Ἰσοκράτους (Athen. 13. 592D, *arg. Isoc.* 2 and 5, cf. Dion. Hal. *de Isaeo* 1; Müller *FHG* iii 49) is no doubt laid under heavy obligation, though probably at several removes; Dionysius of Halicarnassus acknowledges dependence on αἱ κοιναὶ ἱστορίαι which κατέλιπον ἡμῖν οἱ τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνταξάμενοι (*ep. ad Amm.* 1 c. 3; cf. Fr. Leo, *Die gr.-röm. Biographie* 20-4, 31-4).

The mishmash transmitted by Zosimus (the 'anon.' *Life*) at one point clearly switches source and makes a new start (*Λέγοντι δέ τινας κτλ.* 90). It is with this section that the papyrus *Life* seems to show greater affinity than with any other of the extant accounts, at least for the initial items (date of birth, teachers, pupils). But 3543 went on to give material apparently not found elsewhere.

The 'anon.' *Life* is cited from Mathieu's Budé text (*Isocrate* 1 xxxiii-xxxviii), but ps.-Plutarch's from Mau's Teubner (*Moralia* v 2. 1; 836E-839D), and Dion. Hal.'s from Usener-Radermacher (v 54-6).

(a)

του[.]. υ[  
 ολυμπι. [  
 πτω[ ]πρω[.]. [  
 μουδ[. ]σινετες. [  
 5 δικ[. ]τετουκει. . [  
 κ'τι[. ]ιουτουσρακ[  
 τωρ. [ ]ετιδε. εος. [  
 σιανκ'τουτομαρτυ[  
 κρα. ηλεγο. . απο. [  
 10 ἰσοκρατησμεν. [  
 χ. υ[. ]θελωδοκει. [  
 περι[. ]υσιανειναιλ ο. [  
 θηταιμπροςρωσψ. . [  
 αθ. ναιονκ'τη. [  
 15 τουςκ'ασημους[.]. [  
 ποσεφοροσπερ[. ]δ[  
 κοσἰσοκρατηθ[. ]δ[  
 κρι. ρσκαμητην[  
 (b) .[. ]ι. . υ[  
 20 ]. ολειηττειδεμ[  
 ]απαραδετων. [  
 ]τεσαστουδιαφορ[  
 ]πρωτονειστρ. [  
 ]δ. . [ ]προεβληθ[  
 25 . . . ]τονυἰονα[  
 . . . ]δ'δευτερον. [  
 . . . ]υπεμεινεν. [  
 . . . ]ξιμενηςμε. [  
 . . . ]ραβουλομενο[  
 30 . . . ]ἰσοκρατη[  
 . . . ]εαυτωεξης[  
 . . . ]βιωσαναυ[  
 . . . ]πελθηγ[  
 . . . ]εστουτον[  
 35 . . . ]... αγη. [  
 ]. α. [  
 . . . ]

10-17, 26-9 Towards the right, the papyrus' surface was already damaged when written on  
 30 *Schlusbeta* 33 ], compatible with ε or (better?) α λ, or χ 35 Before α, perhaps θ; before  
 that, top of λ, α? (not ο or φ)

του[.]. υ[ c. 24 ἐπὶ τῆς π̄ς  
 ὀλυμπιά[δος ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσιμάχου, πέμ-  
 πτω[ι] πρό[τε]ρ[ον] ἔπει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέ-  
 μου, δ[υ]σὶν ἔτεσι [κ(αὶ) κ̄ νεώτερος Λυκίου· ἤκουσε δὲ Προ-  
 5 δίκ[ου] τε τοῦ Κείου [κ(αὶ) Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίου  
 κ(αὶ) Τι[ς]ίου τοῦ Κυρακ[ου]σίου κ(αὶ) Θηραμένους τοῦ ῥή-  
 τορο[ς]. ἔτι δὲ νέος ὦ[ν] ἐδόκει διοίσειν τῶν περὶ Λυ-  
 σίαν, κ(αὶ) τοῦτο μαρτυ[ρεῖ] Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φαίδρω Ἐω-  
 κράτη λέγοντα ποι[ή]σας οὕτω “νέος ἔτι, ὦ Φαίδρε,  
 10 Ἴσοκράτης· ὁ μὲντ[οι] μαντεύομαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ, λέ-  
 γειν [ἐ]θέλω· δοκεῖ γ[άρ] μοι ἀμείνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς  
 περὶ [Λ]υσίαν εἶναι λόγ[ους].” ἐγένοντο δ’ αὐτοῦ μα-  
 θηταὶ πρὸς ῥ, ὡς ψ. . [  
 Ἀθηναῖον κ(αὶ) τη. [  
 15 τοὺς κ(αὶ) ἀσήμεους [ ]. [  
 ποσ Ἐφορος Ἰσοκράτης Ἰκαίος Λυκοῦργος Φιλί-  
 κος Ἰσοκράτης Θε[ο]δ[έ]κτης Λά-  
 κριτος καὶ τηγ[  
 .[. ]ι. . υ[  
 20 . ολειηττειδεμ[  
 α'παρὰ δὲ τῶν. [  
 τεσ αὐτοὶ διαφορ[  
 πρώτον εἰς τρ. [  
 δ. . [ ]προεβλήθ[η  
 25 . . . ]τὸν υἰὸν α[  
 . . . ]τὸ δ(ε) δεύτερον. [  
 . . . ]ὑπέμεινεν. [  
 Ἀν]αξιμένης με. [  
 . . . ]ρα βουλόμενο[  
 30 . . . ]Ἰσοκράτη [

1 τοῦ[τ]ου? But εἰς | τοῦ[ς] αὐ[τῶν] κεκωμώδηται (cf. ps.-Plut. *Life* §1 [836E]) perhaps not excluded.  
 1-4 Dion. Hal's *Life* begins (54. 1-5 Us.-Rad.) Ἰσοκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς π̄ς Ὀλυμπιάδος,  
 ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Λυσιμάχου, ἐπρότερον ἔπει τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, κ̄β ἔτεσι νεώτερος Λυκίου. Cf. the ps.-  
 Plut. *Life* §2 (836E), γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν π̄ς Ὀλυμπιάδα Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινουσίου ἄρχοντος, νεώτερος μὲν  
 Λυκίου δὲ δυὶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι, πρεσβύτερος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἑπτὰ, and the anon. *Life* 90-2 (evidently switching  
 source at this point), λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὅτι τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου πρεσβύτερος ἐγένετο ἄπεντε, Λυκίου δὲ

νεώτερος) δυοὶ καὶ εἰκόσις ἔτεσι (so Mathieu prints; perhaps rather πολέμου <πρότερον γεννηθεὶς ἔτει, Πλάτωνος μὲν> πρεσβύτερος <ξ̄ ἔτεσι, Λυκίου δὲ νεώτερος> ἐγένετο κβ̄ ἔτεσιν?). Cf. *Suda* (Olympiad, ὃ ἔστι κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακά). The P. Cairo Masp. *Life* has for its chronological fix only γέγ[ονε] δ' ἐπὶ Λυκμ[άχου] (11).

In 4, perhaps rather δ[υ]οὶ καὶ εἰκόσις ἔτεσι [νεώτερος Λυκίου].

4-7 After covering paternity and upbringing, Dion. Hal. continues (54. 10-15 Us.-Rad.; I bracket matter without counterpart in the papyrus): γενόμενος δ' ἀκουστής Προδίκου τε τοῦ Κείου καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Τιςίου τοῦ Κυρακουσίου (τῶν τότε μέγιστον ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ σοφίαι, (ὡς δὲ τινας ἱστοροῦσι) καὶ Θηραμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος (ὃν οἱ τριάκοντα ἀπέκτευν κτλ.). Similarly ps.-Plut.: παῖς μὲν ὢν ἐπαυδαίετο οὐδενὸς ἤττον Ἀθηναίων, ἀκροάμενος Προδίκου κτλ., the list of four being given precisely as in the papyrus. Cf. *Suda*, which adds Erginus (Archinus coni. Ruhnken). The anon. *Life*, after ἤκουσε δὲ κατὰ τινας, names only Prodicus and Gorgias, but may have cut. P. Cairo Masp. gives all four names, but without further designation: ἤκου]σε δὲ Π[ρο]δίκου τε [κα]ὶ <Γ>οργί[ξ]ο[υ] Τ[ι]ςίου τε | καὶ Θηραμένους (11-13). All but the anon. *Life* and 3543 then proceed to expatiate on Theramenes.

7-12 Cf. the anon. *Life*, which after Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου continues (93-8) word for word as in the papyrus, except that (i) it starts νέος δ' ὢν, (ii) it adds τὸν ῥήτορα πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων after Λυκίαν, and (iii) it presents the quotation—which is from *Phdr.* 278e—in this form: Νέος μὲν ἔτι, ὦ Φαῖδρε, Ἴσοκράτης· ὁ μέντοι περὶ αὐτοῦ μαντεύομαι, εἰπεὶν ἐθέλω· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι ἀμείνων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς περὶ Λυκίαν εἶναι λόγους. Similarly the P. Cairo Masp. *Life* (νέος [δ'] ὢν καὶ δόξαν ἐφέρετο] ὡς διοίσειν Ἀν[τί]σιον τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὡς μαρ]τυρεῖ ἐ[ν τ]ῷ Φαῖδρω Πλάτων 14-16), but without the actual quotation. The anon. *Life*'s version of the quotation is a little different from the Platonic paradosis, which runs: Νέος ἔτι, ὦ Φαῖδρε, Ἴσοκράτης· ὁ μέντοι μαντεύομαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, λέγειν ἐθέλω. (Φαί.) Τὸ ποῖον δὴ; (Σωκ.) Δοκεῖ μοι ἀμείνων κτλ. In the papyrus I have restored this text (except for the elimination of Phaedrus' intervention and for the consequent addition of γάρ); for the papyrus apparently had λέγειν not εἰπεῖν, and considerations of space favour μέν' s absence in 9. Since the text of the direct tradition is clearly superior to that of the anon. *Life*, at least as regards κατ' αὐτοῦ, it appears that 3543 has the quotation in a purer form than does the anon. *Life*.

12 ff. Isocrates' pupils. Cf. the anon. *Life*, which directly after the *Phaedrus* quote continues (99 f.), ἔρχε δὲ μαθητὰς πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς δὲ εὐδοκμηκῶτας καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς τούτους· Θεόπομπον κτλ. For the number, 'c. 100', cf. ps.-Plut. §9 (837c): ἀκροαταὶ δ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἑκατόν, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος . . . (short excursus on Isocrates and Timotheus), (§10) ἐμαθήτευσεν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Θεόπομπος κτλ. All that the Dion. Hal. *Life* has on this is (55. 18 f. Us.-Rad.) τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι νέων παιδεύσας; and the *Suda* has merely ἐδίδαξε δὲ πλείστους. In the P. Cairo Masp. *Life*, πον[ ] at 18 *init.* is conceivably Θεόπομ[ ]πον. The anon. *Life* at an earlier point (40-4) reports that he charged fellow citizens nothing for his teaching (so too ps.-Plut. §33), but charged ξένοι 1,000 drachmas; cf. P. Cairo Masp. 24, 29.

12 αὐτοῦ (as ps.-Plut.); or αὐτῷ.

13 ψ . . [ : ψ is intact but for its right-hand side. But ψευδῶς *vel sim.* is not to be read, and I cannot find any other acceptable reading if the letter is in fact ψ (unless ψιλο[- or ψυχ[αγωγ]-, but either would be palaeographically forced and textually unpromising). Perhaps rather φ, formed much as in 16 εφορος. Then φ[έ]ρο[υ]σιν may perhaps be read (not φ[έ]ρε[ται]), though ο would be abnormally large, or φησ[ί], quoting authority (Hermippus?) (but the trace representing the right side of eta would be anomalous).

15 κ' : or α' (πρώτων).

15-18 Both the anon. and the ps.-Plut. *Lives* have such a catalogue. The anon. *Life*'s runs (100-3, brackets mine): Θεόπομπον, Ἐφορον, (ὃν καὶ ἱστορίαι φέρουσι) Ὑπερίδην, Ἰσαῖον, Λυκοῦργον, (οἷτινές εἰσι τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων τῶν κριθέντων τε καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένων· εἶτα) Φίλιππον, Ἴσοκράτην (ὁμῶνυμον αὐτοῦ), Θεοδέκτην, Ἀνδροτίωνα (τὸν τὴν Ἀθίδα γράψαντα, καθ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐγραψε), καὶ Πύθωνα (τὸν Βυζάντιον, τὸν ῥήτορα Φιλίππου); there follows the well-known anecdote about Theopompus and Ephorus. The list in the ps.-Plut. *Life* goes (§§10-11, 837c) καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος καὶ Ἐφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τραγωδοῦμενα συγγράψας καὶ Θεοδέκτης ὁ Φασηλίτης ὁ τὰς τραγωδίας ὑστερον γράψας, (οὗ ἔστι τὸ μνῆμα . . .) Λεώδαμος τ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Λάκριτος ὁ νομοθέτης Ἀθηναῖος (Λάκριτος <ὁ Φασηλίτης καὶ Λυκοῦργος> Westermann). ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασὶ καὶ Ὑπερίδης καὶ Ἰσαῖος; there follows an anecdote about Demosthenes. Clearly the papyrus' catalogue is essentially that of the anon. *Life*, but a little different at the end. I would suppose that Λά[ ]κριτος was preceded by Λεώδαμος; absent from the anon. *Life*'s list, they go in tandem in ps.-Plut.'s. That probably leaves room for one name after Θ[εο]δ[έ]κτης: Androtion or Pytho?

Hermippus had recorded Isocrates' pupils, including Isaeus (Dion. Hal. *de Isaeo* 1).

20 πόλει?

21 Possibly λ, in which case the Thirty, I expect (cf. ps.-Plut. *Life* §3 [836f], anon. *Life* 23); but α' (πρώτων? πρώτος? the numeral 1000?) seems the better reading.

22 e.g. ἔχον]τες αὐτοὶ διαφόρ[ως] (διαφοράν, διὰ φορ-).

23-7 ? Cf. ps.-Plut. §18 (838A), φθονηθεὶς τρίς προσβλήθη τριηραρχεῖν, καίτοι δις μὲν ἀθνήειαν σκηψάμενος διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς παρητήσατο, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑποστὰς ἀνήλωσεν οὐκ ὀλίγα. (The anon. *Life*, 46-8, follows a more thoroughly favourable tradition: πλούσιος δὲ γενόμενος ἐμερίσατο τὸν πλοῦτον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῆς εὐνοίας, τριηραρχίας καὶ πολλὰς λειτουργίας συντελών.) 23 τρι[ηραρχίαν]? 25 Ἀ[φαρέα]?

28 Though Ἀν[αξιμένης] Μει[λήσιος] would be a possible reading, mention of Anaximenes of Lampsacus would be less unexpected, and e.g. μὲν, μέγ[α] are available. Do 28 ff. give an anecdote concerning Anaximenes and Isocrates? There is none in the extant *Lives*. According to an otherwise unknown Machaon, Isocrates' *Encomium of Helen* was written against Anaximenes' *Apology of Helen* (hypoth. Isoc. *Hel.*, p. 113 Dindorf = Jacoby *FGH* 72 T 18; cf. Blass, *Att. Bereds.* 66, Jebb, *Att. Orators* ii 102). The two men are linked as sophists by Plut. *Dem. et Cic. comp.* 2, and as distinguished men of culture by Diod., 16. 76. 4. Enmity between Anaximenes and Theopompus, with an effective piece of forgery on Anaximenes' part, is recorded by Pausanias, 6. 18. 5 (cf. *Suda* in Ἄναξ.), and Zoilus 'Ὀμηρομάστιξ, Anaximenes' teacher, wrote κατὰ Ἴσοκράτους, according to the *Suda*. Any relationship attested here between Isocrates and Anaximenes may be expected to be hostile.

29 e.g. ῥήτο]ρα, πατέ]ρα, would fit.

31 εἰαυτῷ ἐξή? ἐξ ἤ?

32 ἐ]βίωσαν, δα]βίως ἄν, etc.

33 ἀπέλθθ?

35 Not ἀ]ποθάνη, nor φθάνη. Πλαθάνη, Isocrates' wife, I think may have some likelihood (anon. *Life* 5, ps.-Plut. *Life* §§16, 24, 41).

### 3544. PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOGUE (HERACLIDES PONTICUS, περὶ ἀρχῆς?)

(ADDENDUM TO 664)

15 2B.42/C(d)

7 × 26 cm

Third century

Another fragment of IV 664, 'Philosophical Dialogue': perhaps the περὶ ἀρχῆς of Heraclides Ponticus. The new piece combines with fr. (b) of 664 and incorporates fr. (c). The content of the new column thus gained is in unbroken narrative form (it would not have been thought to be from a dialogue at all, were it not for the previous fragments) and must be the continuation of the account begun by one Ariphron in the preceding column, 664 col. iii, an account of a certain misfortune that befell Periander, tyrant of Corinth. The new column gives details of the story. Someone set out to make Periander angry (4-8). After a few badly mutilated lines there is mention of some deprivation by Cypselus, Periander's father, and on Periander's part a plot to kill (13-16)—whom, is not absolutely clear, but apparently Cypselus. Lethal poison comes into play, and the rest of the column is occupied by Homeric credentials for Corinthian poison. There the text breaks off, obviously leaving the story still far from complete. The outcome, as we learn from the conversation that led up to the tale's being told (664 92 ff.), is some personal calamity for Periander, brought on by his cruelty. The story we might have expected is the one told by Herodotus (3. 50-3): Periander slaughtered his wife (but without malice aforethought?) and was consequently estranged from his son, who upon their long-delayed reconciliation was murdered by the Corcyraeans. But the

story we find in the dialogue is clearly a different one, which seems not to be elsewhere attested.

The story is told in illustration of a philosophical point, agreed upon among the participants in the dialogue (narrator, Ariphron, Adimantus, Pisistratus). 'If this is true, then,' the anonymous narrator had remarked (664 fr. (b) *imit.*), οὐτ' ἂν Περιάνδρου λυσιτελοῖη μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἢ ὑφ' ἑτέρου ἄρχεσθαι οὐτ' ἄλλω οὐθένι τῶν φαύλως ἀρχόντων: a bad ruler, such as Periander, would be as well off (if not better) being ruled as ruling. For, the speaker had gone on to suggest, it is those dearest to him, his country and his blood-relations, who would be likely to suffer from his ἀμαρτίαι. Ariphron had wholeheartedly agreed, and at the prompting of Pisistratus had embarked on his corroborative account of a μεγάλη πᾶνυ συμφορά that Periander had recently incurred διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα, beginning with the reaction of the Bacchiads to Cypselus' assumption of power. What is the 'this' (ταῦτα) of the first sentence, from which all the rest hangs? Perhaps that bad rulers, being in a position to exercise power, are especially liable to commit ἀμαρτίαι and so unwittingly to do themselves harm; unless that is excessively Platonic. At all events φαύλως must be a significant qualification, so that while the argument may not be quite as abstract and high-minded as the Socratic-Platonic position that suffering injustice is always preferable to committing it (cf. *Gorg.* 466E ff., and also *Rep.* 1. 336A, where Periander appears with Perdiccas as the type of a tyrant), it will certainly be more sophisticated than the simple 'is it better ἄρχειν ἢ ἄρχεσθαι;' question treated e.g. by Isocrates *ad Nic.* 4 f., though the terms in which the matter is there discussed may be appropriate enough (ἐπειδὴν . . . ὁρώσι τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ὧν ἡκιστα χρῆν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δ' εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἠναγκασμένους, τοῖς δ' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα συμβεβηκότα, πάλιν ὅπως οὖν ζῆν ἡγούνται λυσιτελεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύειν).

It may be suspected that such stories as this are only ostensibly subservient to argument. At any rate, they need only to be removed from their philosophical context to become properly biographical, material avowedly worth relating for its own sake. If Heraclides' dialogues were heavily anecdotal, it is less surprising that such works as Satyrus' *Lives* take dialogue form.

The lower part of 664 col. iii, which the new piece directly succeeds, is damaged beyond possibility of full restoration. Some supplements were offered by K. Fuhr in *Berl. philol. Wochenschrift* 1904, 1506-8, and more could be suggested (e.g. 122 f. ἔτ]υχον [τῆ] ἡ]μέραι - - ἐν ἡ]ι θ[έλο]ντες κτλ., 126 χρῆ]σιμοι). Coherent sense is to be elicited only speculatively. Still, there are I think good indications of a drinking party, or at least a toast. Taking the lead from Fuhr's προπί]νευ|βού]λομαι at 131 f. (or προπι[εῖν]), we may conjecture πότ]ον in 127 and κελύσα]ν[τό]ς τινο[ς προ]πι[εῖ]νευ ὦ[ι βού]λεται (cf. ὦι προπιεῖν ἐθέλει, Critias fr. 6. 7 West) at 129 f. This could provide a context for the events described in the first part of the next (new) column.

Attribution of 664 to Heraclides, and specifically to his περὶ ἀρχῆς, was proposed by Blass in *Arch. für Pap.* 3 (1906) 498 f., and I should think it more likely than not to be right.

While the dialogue can hardly be Aristotle's (see ed. pr. intro., and Blass 498), it must surely be pre-Alexandrian. That in itself, given his reputation in antiquity, makes Heraclides the best candidate for authorship, and a number of particular considerations entered by Blass, though none of them could be said to be conclusive, point very strongly towards him and his dialogue on government. I find nothing in the new piece to advance the matter, though the absence of hiatus may be noted. F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles VII, Herakleides Pontikos* (Basel, 1953), p. 110, calls the ascription of 664 to Heraclides 'auf den ersten Blick bestechende' but rejects it on the ground that Solon's departure from Athens in anticipation of Pisistratus' tyranny (664 1-10) is incompatible with Plutarch *Life of Solon* 31 (Her. Pont. fr. 149 Wehrli), which describes a sort of legislative collaboration between Pisistratus and Solon. It is true that Plutarch's account suggests that despite his apprehension that Pisistratus was aiming at tyranny Solon refused to leave Athens, but there is no suggestion that he is following Heraclides in this. The acknowledgement to Heraclides in c. 31 is an isolated one referring to a piece of Pisistratean legislation alleged to have had Solonian precedent. None of Plutarch's references to Heraclides is at all at variance with the data of the dialogue, and indeed the relations between Solon and Pisistratus as described by Plutarch, notably in the first chapter (again with a reference to Heraclides), coincide perfectly with those indicated in 664 (NB esp. ll. 12-15, however Πισιστράτου διὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα Κόλωνος κελεύοντος is articulated, and compare 664 3-5 προλέγων [*sc.* Solon] Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι Πισιστράτος ἐπιβουλεύει τυραννίδι with Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 29. 3 τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρῶτος ἐγκατεῖδεν); Heraclides is Plutarch's express authority for Solon's living on well after Pisistratus' assumption of power, and nothing precludes his return to Athens in the dialogue.

On Heraclides' dialogues see R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog* i (1895) 321-31; F. Wehrli, op. cit. (π. ἀρχῆς, fr. 144-5, both to do with Periander); id. *RE Suppl.* xi (1968) 677-83; cf. H. B. Gottschalk, *Heraclides of Pontus* (Oxford 1980), who implicitly rejects (p. 131) ascription of the papyrus to the π. ἀρχῆς. It may be that at least some of the citations in Plut. *Vit. Sol.* (Her. Pont. fr. 146-9 Wehrli) should be assigned to the π. ἀρχῆς instead of the π. νόμων.

The dialogue makes Pisistratus and Periander contemporaries. But despite the remark of the editors of 664, that 'this papyrus reopens some important questions of history and chronology', subsequent discussions of the date of the Cypselid tyranny seem to have made no mention of our dialogue, which in its synchronization of the Athenian and Corinthian tyrannies offers itself in support of Beloch's downdating of the latter. (For example, in Ed. Will, *Korinthiaka* (Paris, 1955), the controversial conclusion 'Périandre vivait encore alors que Pisistrate était déjà tyran à Athènes' (p. 359)—which is precisely what 664 implicitly testifies—is arrived at without any reference to the papyrus. Cf. J. Ducat, *Bull. corr. hell.* 85 [1961] 418-25, M. R. Cataudella, *Maia* 16 [1964] 204-25, J. Servais, *Ant. Class.* 38 [1969] 28-81, M. Miller, *Sicilian Colony Dates*, 203-37.) While the dialogue itself will of course be fictional, according to the conventions of the genre, we may be confident that it would not blatantly defy credibility or its dramatic setting

too obviously contravene established belief—certainly not if the work is Heraclides' (whose refusal to follow Aristotle in making himself a speaking character may be surmised to have been at least partly in the interests of authenticity). Obviously the evidence of the dialogue is not historically definitive, but it cannot properly be ignored.

The script is a close relative of 'Biblical Uncial' (cf. e.g. P. Berol. 7499, tav. 19a in G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*); only μ, instead of having its sides kept vertical, is given curved legs to match its deep bow, as in the Hawara Homer. I see no reason to dispute the first editors' attribution to the third century, but I suppose it could be a little earlier. A palaeographical point of difference between 664 fr. (a) and the other fragments (including the new one) may be remarked. (I have been able to consult a photograph of 664.) In fr. (a) υ invariably takes the three-spoked Y-shape characteristic of Biblical Uncial, being stiffly formed with a wide-angled cup. In the other fragments, with only one exception, the letter is made in a single sequence, proceeding obliquely from top to foot and then back up (more or less as in Coptic Uncial), a process of formation that virtually eliminates the stem. Otherwise the hands are the same. Fr. (a) comes close to the beginning of the dialogue; evidently the copyist changed from the more formal υ to the less formal, which was no doubt quicker and less trying to make. But if the fragments were not known to belong all to the same manuscript, this difference might have been adduced against an assumption of scribal identity.

The back is blank. In the transcription the columnar numeration continues that of 664.

## col. iv

. . . λδ[  
. . . ]στη[. . . ] [ . . . ]  
αυτουςπροστον[. . . ] [ . . . ]  
ογκωσαστοπραχ[  
5 οισηκουσενπλα. αμ. [ . . . ]  
τοιαυταεξωνημελλε[  
λισταεισορρηνηκαταστη[  
τονπεριανδρον·οδακ[  
. ας. αυτακαιπαλ. [ . . ]μ. . [ . . . ]  
10 . . ] υς[. . ] κ. . . λασκα[. . ] . . . [ . . . ]

αυτοῦς πρὸς τὸν[. . . ] [ . . . ]  
ογκώσας τὸ πρᾶγμα  
οἱ ἤκουσεν πλαζάμε[νοσ  
τοιαῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἤμελλε [μά-  
λιστα εἰς ὄργην καταστή[σαι  
τὸν Περῖανδρον· ὁ δ' ἀκ[ού-  
σας ταῦτα καὶ παλ. [ . . ]μ. . [ . . . ]

1 . . . , foot of oblique, prob. α or λ 2 . . . ] c, feet of two uprights; traces and space compatible with π[ρο]c . . . ] . . . , descender, ρ, φ, ψ 3 . . . ] . . . , perhaps α 5 α, low curve, not ideal for c but compatible with it . . . ] . . . , ε poss. 9 . . . ] . . . , prob. upright, then space for medium-sized letter μ almost certain, followed by upright (ι, η, ν) 10 After κ, surface mostly stripped λ, δ not excluded Before it, traces suggesting λ

. . . . .] . . . ] αιπαρ[. . . ] μ[ . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ]  
664 136 αυ|τρουπατροσασποστ[. . . ] ρη[  
15 εθ|α. . . ρετηρεικαιεπεβο[  
λευ|ενθελωνανελειν· εν[  
δετ|ηι[. . ] ορι[. . ] ωιδυ. αμιν[  
εφα|σανυπερβαλλουσεντ[. . ]  
ναχ|ενεσθαιφαρμα. . υτ. [ . . . ]  
20 αυτη|νριονπαντα. [ . . ] ρπ[  
απο|κτιννυταιτουσφα. . . [ . . . ]  
τασ|ελεγετοδεκακ[ιχ. [ . . . ] γ[  
των|τωφαρμακωιτ[. . ]  
λων| . αναξιμαγιες[  
25 τρα. |ματα· περιτουφα[. . . ]  
κου|δετουδεκακ[ιτον[. . ] μη  
ρον|[. . ] φασανοικοριν. ιρι  
. . . ] σθηναιτουςγαρμνη.  
. . . ] . . . πορουμενο. σπο  
150 . . ] . π. ριτησαποδημιας  
31 τουτ|ηλεμαχουλεγεινφη  
ρινα|[. . ] τους ηεκαιες. φυ  
ρηνη|[. . ] θελειπειριανα[. . ] ου  
. . ] ανελ|θεινοφρενθε. [ . . ]  
35 . . ] υμοφ|θοραφαρμακεν. . [ . . ]  
. . ] νδεβ|α. . κ[. . . ] ηρικα[. . . ]

ὑπὸ Κηψ[έλο]υ τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ πατρὸς ἀποστ[ε]ρή[  
εθαι παρετήρει καὶ ἔπεβο[ύ-  
λευεν θέλων ἀνελεῖν· ἐν  
δὲ τῇ [Κ]ορί[νθ]ωι δύναμιν  
ἔφασαν ὑπερβάλλουσέν τι[-  
να γενέσθαι φαρμάκον τοῦ[ι-  
αύτην οἶον πάντα [ . . ] ρπ[  
ἀποκτινῦναι τοὺς φαρμα[κῶν-  
τας[·] ἔλέγετο δὲ καὶ χρ[ι]σθ[έ]ν-  
των τῶ φαρμάκωι τῶν χει-  
λῶν θανάσιμα γίνεσθαι τὰ  
τραύματα· περὶ τοῦ φα[ρμ]ά-  
κου δὲ τοῦδε καὶ τὸν [Ὀ]μη-  
ρον [ἔ]φασαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι  
μνη]σθῆναι τοὺς γὰρ μνησ-  
τῆρ]ας ἀπορουμένους πο-  
. . . ] . περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας  
τοῦ Τηλεμάχου λέγειν φη-  
σὶν α[ὐ]τοὺς “ἦ καὶ ἐς Ἐφύ-  
ρην [ἔ]θέλει πείριαν ἄ[ρ]ου-  
ραν ἔλθειν ὄφρ’ ἐνθερ  
θ]υμοφθόρα φάρμακ’ ἐνεί[κη],  
ἐ]ν δὲ βάλῃ κ[ρη]τῆρι κα[ὶ] ἦ-

11 After c, ε θ ο or c Then foot of upright or oblique . . . , top of prob. curve, suggesting ε or c 12 . . . . . , first a minimal speck, then perhaps αγ or λγ, then foot of apparent oblique; then papyrus broken till just before τ After α a hooked letter-top, not precisely matched elsewhere; perhaps κ 13 After τ, prob. ε or ο Then scanty traces suggesting ρα ε, or ο . . . ] . . . , descender as of φ or ψ 18 . . . ] . . . , upright: η, ι, ρ 19 ναχ[ Grenfell-Hunt . . . ] . . . , upright, but curved at foot: ο acceptable 20 ρ, circlet only, possibly a small ο π, or perhaps γ . . . ] 21 φ or ψ After α, apparent upright, then, at some distance, two feet 22 τρω[ G-H . . . ] . . . , upright Supralin. . . , foot of upright 23 . . . ] . . . , letter-top trace, e.g. ο, ω, ρ 28 end, offsets hereabouts, but ink above η may be a letter 30 ]α[ G-H 31 ]οντ[ G-H 32 εν G-H



	μεαπ  [. . . . . ] λεεζ. [ ]	col. v	μέεα π[άντασ δ]λέεζη”
	καιπαλ  [. . . . . ] ηεε. [ ]	.	καὶ πάλ[ιν . . . . ] ηεεη
	. . . ] εφν  [. . . . . ] ειντοη	β[	εἰς] ’Εφύ[ραν ἐλθ]εἰν τὸν
40	. . . ] ζεεα  [. . . . . ] νανδ[. ] ρ	το[	’Οδν] ζεεά [“φάρμακο]ν ἀνδ[ρ]ο-
	. . ] νον  [. . . . . ] ηε. . . . .	ειδ[	φό]νον [διζήμενο]ν εἴ πον
	. . ] ευρο.   [. . . . . ] εεθαι. [. . . ]	γμ[	ἐφ]εύροι [ἰοὺς χρι]εεθαι χ[αλ-
	. . . ] εαε[ [. . . . . ] ην. [ ]	5 κα. [	κή]ρεεα” [. . . . . ] ην. [ ]

40 ]οε εα[ G-H      42 ]ευροη[ G-H      43 ]. σαε[ G-H      Before ην, perhaps γ, τ, after ην perhaps α, δ, λ

5 ff. ‘. . . inventing such things by which he was especially likely to make Periander angry. He, on hearing this . . . to have been deprived (of x?) by Cypselus his own father, began to watch for his opportunity and to form plans against him, meaning to do away with him. In Corinth they said there was a poison of such surpassing power (?) as to kill all who should drink it, and it was said that the wounds were fatal even if the lips should be smeared with the poison. This poison the Corinthians said Homer too had made mention of, for he says that when the suitors were in perplexity about Telemachus’ voyage abroad they said, “Or he was meaning to go to Ephyre, that rich land, to get deadly poisons from there and put them in the wine-bowl and kill all of us”; and again he related that Odysseus went to Ephyre “in search of lethal poison, if he could find any to besmear his bronze-tipped arrows”.’

col. iv. Since l. 14 (= 664 136) stands opposite the fifteenth line of the previous column, probably only a single line is missing from the top of this column. That will give a column of 44 lines, as against the 45 of both the previous column and the two columns of 664 fr. (a).

1 ’Ε]λλάδ[-, al.

4 ‘exaggerating the matter’?

4-5 e.g. και πρόε] | οἷε ἤκουεον κτλ., ‘and in addition to what he had heard’.

9-13 I cannot restore. 9 f. πάλι[ν] μνη[μο]ν[ε]ύε[α]ς would fit, but is only speculative. In 10 the articulation -λαε κα[- is open; or perhaps και δ[ι]δαεκά[λω]ν (or -ου]ε), though I am not sure there is room enough for δ[ι]δ.

12 π]ραγμαεεεαν would make an acceptable reading, but I cannot verify it.

13 -]αεεραε is the best reading. ε could be ρ; ρ and α are mostly lost but difficult to avoid. e.g. θυ|γ]αεεραε would suit. But we expect a genitive with ἀποεερεεεεθαι 14 f. I find none in -αεεραε (whether noun or comparative); ]αεεραε may be a possible reading. Not more than a single letter can be lost at the line beginning, I think: so e.g. πρ]αγ|μ]αεεραε, not e.g. ετρ]ατ(ε)ιαε or εγ|κρ]αεεραε.

το[ὐ] | αὐτοῦ better for line length than το[ὐ] ε]αυτοῦ.

14 ἀποεετ[ε]ρ[ε]εεθαι: leg. ἀποεερεεεεθαι, or (better?) ἀπεεερεεεεθαι? η is certain, but there is no guarantee that the line ended with it.

16 θέλων ἀνελεῖν: whom? His father Cypselus, is the most natural answer. No surviving tradition tells of this.

18-20 I can arrive at no more satisfactory reading. 18 τῆ (τη, τρ) does not necessarily end the line; 19 φαρμάκον not -ον or -ω; 19 το[ι] not assured. δύναμίν τινα φαρμάκον τοιαύτην equivalent to φάρμακόν τι δύναμιν ἔχον τοιαύτην? I first supposed the sense to be on the lines of ‘surpassing power was such a strong poison . . .’, but it appears from what follows that it is the power or efficacy (δύναμιε) of Corinthian poison that is at issue. Periander planned to kill his father with poison (in or on a wine-cup)?

18 ἔφαεαν (again 27), not ἔλεγον (but ἐλέγετο in 22): this is what they said at the time.

20 [. ]ρπ[ (see apparatus for alternative decipherments) I can make nothing of; perhaps two or three letters lost at line end. (We could read δ]ρχῆ[ε, cf. 7, if we wished, or perhaps μ]όγχε[ε, but I see nothing plausible here, unless ε]ρρω[ε.)

21 φαρμα[κῶν]ταε, though ideal in point of sense, is a dubious reading. It makes the line abnormally long (even with ν in suspension, unexampled in this text), and not all the traces fit very well: the remains of φ might

rather suggest ψ, and the two feet I have given as μα would not naturally be taken as belonging to those letters. But the reading is I think compatible with the traces; φαύρα[ν]ταε would be even more forced. At all events the meaning is scarcely in doubt. I take it that the supralinear πίνονταε (or πίνονταε) is a gloss.

22-5 24 λων provides the starting-point for the offered supplementation. Alternatively, βε]λλῶν.

25 ff. Implicit here is clearly an identification of Homer’s Ephyre with Corinth, an identification which was controversial in antiquity: for the testimonia see Erbse at Schol. *Il.* 2. 659, and for discussion see Leaf, *Homer and History*, 177-9, and Jacoby on *FGH* 244 (Apollodorus) F 179-81. Naturally at Corinth the Homeric Ephyre would be claimed as Corinthian. [In his chapter on Elis, at 8. 3. 5, Strabo quotes both the Odyssean passages that are quoted here; but I see no reason to suppose any source connection, especially since those of Strabo’s manuscripts that present the subordinate clause in *Od.* 1. 261 f. (see Müller and Dübner 990) give the vulgate version, not the version uniquely given in ll. 41 f. here.]

28 f. The space available at the beginning of 29 suggests the articulation μνηε[τῆρ]αε rather than μνη[ετῆρ]αε. c was perhaps written above η, for the sake of a justified margin.

30 Three or four letters lost at beginning. Perhaps πρ[ω]το]ν, or πρ[ω]ν; πρ[ω]τ[ε] would not fill the space.

32-7 *Od.* 2. 328-30.

38 e.g. ἰετόρ]ηεεη, αὐ ἔφ]ηεεη, ἐπο(ί)ηεεη.

40-3 *Od.* 1. 261 f., with a new variant. The vulgate text is φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρα οἱ εἴη | ἰοὺς χριεεθαι χαλκήρεαε, but a scholium records a v.l. ἦν που ἐφεύροι, and according to Allen’s app. crit. this reading is found as a γρ. variant in one 13th-cent. MS (U<sup>b</sup>); among Homeric papyri the line is so far unrepresented. In the papyrus the space and remains are well suited to [διζήμενο]ν, grammatically assimilated to τὸν ’Οδυσσεά. Then ]ευρον[ (so Grenfell and Hunt) in 42 seems to point to ἦν που ἐφεύροι, but while ἐφ]εύροι is perfectly acceptable, the letter following [διζήμενο]ν is definitely not η; ην που was not written (nor, perhaps I should add, was οφρα). I suggest εἴ πον, which is compatible with the traces. εἴ πον ἐφεύροι at *Od.* 5. 439, *Il.* 4. 88, 5. 168, 13. 760, the last two following διζήμενος. A new variant, then, which will perhaps most plausibly be attributed to misquotation on the part of the author of the dialogue.

#### Addendum

The following scrap is in the same hand, and to judge from its inventory number, 15 2B.41/B(a), belongs with 3544. It may come from the top of col. v or from a subsequent column. (The stemless form of ν precludes its being from the top of col. ii, see intro.) Transcribed from a photograph.

]τον. [ ]  
]ουε[ ]  
]αφαν[ ]  
]επρι[ ]  
5 ]τον. [ ]  
]τοε. [ ]

3 ν[ rather than ρ[ (φαρ[μακ-)

### III. KNOWN LITERARY TEXTS

#### 3545-3552. THEOCRITUS

This section comprises all the unpublished manuscripts of Theocritus so far identified in the Egypt Exploration Society's holdings.

As a basis for collation we have used the larger edition of Gow (ed. 2, 1952); with additional material from the edition of Ahrens (1855).

Gow lists seven papyri; the four most important we refer to by his symbols, i.e.

Pap. 1 (P <sup>2</sup> 1489)	<b>2064</b>	(2nd cent.)
2 (P <sup>2</sup> 1490)	<b>1618</b>	(5th cent.)
3 (P <sup>2</sup> 1487)	P. Antinoe	(5th/6th cent.)
4 (P <sup>2</sup> 1488)	Perg. Louvre and Rainer	(5th/6th cent.)

In addition, his addenda (i, p. 257) contain partial transcripts of two papyri published below as **3551** and **3552** (P<sup>2</sup> 1493-4).

Further fragments of Pap. 1 appear here as **3548**; a further fragment of Pap. 3 appeared as P. Ant. III 207 (R *Id.* xv 119-25 schol.; V xxvi 14-27).

There have also accrued:

P. Berol. 17073 ( <i>CĒ</i> 50 (1975) 192)	(R) i 31-5	(4th cent.?)
	(V) 73-8	
P. Berol. 21182 ( <i>ZPE</i> 4 (1969) 114)	(R) vii 127-35	(6th cent.)
	(V) iii 1-8	
<b>XLI 2945</b>	xiv 30-50	(2nd cent.).

**3545-52** present some points of interest:

(i) *Order*

Pap. 1 + <b>3548</b>	<i>Id.</i> (i vi iv) v vii iii viii ix
P. Berol. 21182	vii iii
<b>3547</b>	iii iv

**3551** probably had *Id.* xvii and xxviii consecutive, as perhaps Pap. 3 (Gow i, p. lxix n. 1, p. 257).

(ii) *New Readings*

(1)	i	69	ο]υκ	<b>3545</b>
(2)		80-4	(transposition)	
(3)		91	τακεται	
(4)	iii	41	εχων	<b>3548</b>
(5)		54	γενηται	<b>3547</b>
(6)	vii	121	τι	<b>3548</b>
(7)	viii	30	δων γ'	
(8)		82	εφιμερον	

#### 3545-3552. THEOCRITUS

101

(9)	ix	25	τρο]μβον	
(10)	xvii	103	παλαι	<b>3551</b>
(11)	xviii	22	ε]ιμεε	<b>3552</b>
(12)		25	ταν ουδ [ατ]ις	
(13)		26	εντελλοισα	
(14)		29	πειραι	
(15)		33	επι	<b>3550, 3552</b>
(16)		37	ο]μματος	<b>3550</b>
(17)	xxviii	5	τιδε	<b>3551</b>

Two of these confirm certain conjectures (12, 17); two or more represent stylistic improvements (1, 10?, 15?, 16); three can be rejected as *lectiones faciliores* (4, 5, 11); the rest are simple mistakes. Add

(18)	xiv	47	οc δε	<b>3550</b>
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where the reading, impossible in itself, may help to solve a corruption.

(iii) *MS Tradition*

As usual, the papyri do not run with any particular branch of the medieval tradition. It may be worth noting places where these oldest witnesses (*a*) divide against themselves (see **3552**, which differs from Pap. 3 as often as it agrees); (*b*) agree against all later MSS (vii 75 in Pap. 2 and **3548**; xviii 33 in Pap. 3, **3150, 3152**); (*c*) share a reading only with Mosch. (viii 13 in **3548**) or Tr. (i 86 in **3545**, xviii 12 in **3552**, xviii 35 in Pap. 3, **3550, 3552**).

(iv) *Dialect*

This group shows a general tendency to favour Doric alpha (ταν not την); **3548**, of which most survives, consistently writes -ζ- not -cd-. -η- for -ει- (χηρα) was written at x 55 (**3549**) and xviii 42 (**3552**), and introduced by correction at i 81 (**3545**) and vii 74 (**3548**; but viii 40 τειδ'). Otherwise we have the usual variations in the ending of infinitives (**3548**, viii 29; **3549**, x 51, 53; **3551** xvii 104) and feminine participles (**3545**, i 85; **3548**, vii 80, 148, viii 89; **3550**, xviii 36; **3551**, xxviii 3; **3552**, xviii 34, 36).

(v) *Accents*

**3545**, i 85 ζάτεις', and **3551**, xxviii 3 θάρρεις', follow ancient doctrine about Aeolic barytonesis. The Doric accents in **3545**, **3547**, and **3548** represent the normal limited categories exemplified by αγγείροι, ἐδιδάξαν, παντῶν, παῖδες (M. Nöthiger, *Die Sprache des Stesichorus* (1971) 83-6).

#### 3545. THEOCRITUS, *Idyll* i 68-74, 78-95

47 5B.47/B(7-8)b

fr. 2 5.7 × 11.0 cm

Second century

Two fragments with line-beginnings; they do not touch; they may have belonged to the same column (which then had a minimum of 28 lines), but the fibres of the back are too damaged to prove it. The back is blank; to its left, on fr. 2, the remains of a heavy sheet-join or reinforcement. The scribe wrote a small informal script, in which epsilon

(often ligatured) and kappa have the cursive shape, to be assigned to the second century. He himself seems to have added most of the lectional signs, and the corrections in 81, 86, and 87; some accents, the correction in 69, and perhaps the marginal numerals which correct a transposition, look like the work of a thinner pen.

i 68 (fr. 1) ου] γαρ δ[η  
ο]ν[δ̄] αιτ[νας  
70 αρ]χετε β[ουκολικας  
τ]ῆνδὸν μά[ν  
τηνρον χῶ[κ δ]ρ[υμοιο  
αρ]χετε βουκολ[ικας  
74 πὸλλάι ο[ἰ  
.  
.  
.  
78 (fr. 2) τ[ι] [ς] τν κατατρ[υχει  
79 αρ]χετε βουκολ[ικας  
85 ζ̄ᾱτειϛ· ἂ δυσε[ρωϛ  
86 βούτα[ν̄] μ̄αν̄ ελ[εγευ  
87 ὠπολος ὄκ̄ εσορ[η  
88 τ̄ᾱκεται οφθαλμ[ωϛ  
89 αρ]χετε βουκολ[ικας  
90 και τυ δ ἐπεί κ' ες[ορηϛ  
91 τ̄ᾱκεται οφθαλ[μωϛ  
80 ἦνθον τοι βου[ται  
81 παντες αν[εἰ]ρω[τευν  
82 κήφᾱ· Δαφνι ταλ[αν  
83 π̄ά̄σ̄ᾱ ανα κρῆ[νας  
84 αρ]χετε βουκολι[κας  
92 τωϛ] δ ουδεν π[οτελεξαθ  
93 ανυ]ε πικρον ερ[ωτα  
94 αρ]χετε βουκολ[ικας  
95 ]' [ ]'

69 ο]νδ̄ altered to ο]νκ: οὐδ' codd.  
79 The refrain set off by paragraphi above and below, as in 3546; no paragraphi visible in 73 and 89.  
85 ζ̄ᾱτειϛ· ἂ: so K<sup>2</sup> (ζ̄ᾱτειϛ' ἂ: ζ̄ᾱτειϛα K): ζατοῖε' ἂ or ζατοῖα cett. The accent of the papyrus follows ancient doctrine: Schol. i 82-85c Αἰολικὸν τὸ ζ̄ᾱτειϛα (K: ζατοῖα GEAT), διὸ καὶ βαρύνεται.  
86 μ̄αν̄: so Tr.: μ̄εν cett. The grave accent has been deleted with dots above and below.  
90 Unexplained ink in the left margin, level with the base of letters.  
91 τ̄ᾱκεται: τ̄ᾱκει codd., rightly.  
80-4. This complete stanza was omitted (by parablepsy from refrain to refrain); and inserted here, quite senselessly, in mid stanza. The marginal numerals are intended to reverse the order of 85 ff. and 80 ff.  
81 ανερω] altered to ανη-: ἀνη- codd.  
83 π̄ά̄σ̄ᾱς . . . κρῆ[νας: so PQW: π̄ά̄σαν . . . κράναν KP<sup>2</sup>AGS.  
93 ερ[ωτα: traces above the epsilon.  
95 Only the lectional signs survive. Presumably ηνθ]έ [γε μαν] ἄ[δεια.

3546. THEOCRITUS, *Idyll* ii 30-2, 43-9

17 2B.62/G(d)

3.0 × 6.5 cm

Second century

A scrap with line-beginnings; the back is blank. The hand is a good example of the early Biblical Uncial, to be compared with IV 661 (Roberts, *GLH* 16a), but smaller. No lectional signs, except the paragraphi which set off the refrain above and below.

The scribe proceeds direct from II 32 (= 42) to II 43; it cannot be proved whether he displaced 33-42, or simply omitted them. Pap. 3 and K have the same order, with 33-42 transposed between 27 (= 42) and 28; Gow accepts it as correct. If 3546 offered the same transposition, it adds to the evidence that we are dealing with a substantive ancient variant, not with individual lapses.

ii 30 χ[ωϛ  
31 ωϛ ττην[οϛ  
32 ωγξ̄ ε[λκε  
43 ες τρ[ιϛ  
εἶτε [  
45 τοϛ[οϛ  
εν [  
ωγξ̄ ε[λκε  
ἵππομ[ανεϛ  
και πωλ[οι

31 ττην[οϛ: so K: κείνοϛ WANS.

32 = 42, 43 ff.: so Pap. 3 K: cett. have the order indicated by the standard line-numbering. The refrain makes parablepsy (and so omissions and displacements) easy; cf. 3545.

3547. THEOCRITUS, *Idyll* iii 49-iv 2

47 5B.42/F(3-5)a

5 × 10.2 cm

Second century

A scrap from the top of a column; upper margin 3.5 cm; back blank. The copyist wrote awkwardly and with cursive tendencies in an upright bilinear script, assignable to the second century; he himself wrote the punctuation and some of the lectional signs; other signs, and the correction at III 54, and the marginal notes, all written with a thinner pen, represent one or more other hands.

This collection has *Id.* III and IV consecutive (as in AEGHIKUX; but not in Pap. 1). They were separated by a blank line, and by a heading.

iii 49 ατροπο]γ ὑπνον ἰαυων  
 Ιακ]ίωνα· δοκει γ(αρ) ερωμ[  
 πευσει]θε βεββαλοι· αμαθεις και . [  
 ] ουκέτ' αείδω· μεμνη(εν)οι[  
 ] ὥδ' ἐμ' ἔδονται  
 54 βροχθοι]ο γενοῖτο<sup>α</sup>  
 stripped  
 Κορ]υδων  
 \* iv 1 η ρ]α Φιλων[δα  
 ] εδωκ[εν

iii 50 marg.: e.g. δοκεῖ γ(αρ) ἐρώμ[(εν)ος τῆς ἑλληνῆς γεγεμέναι, explaining ζαλωτός. Cf. Schol. iii 49-51c.

51 marg. .[: most like lambda or mu: e.g. μ[η | μεμνημ(έν)οι, μ[υστήρια οὐ | μεμνημ(έν)οι. Schol. iii 49-51c ἀμύητοι, ἀμυστηρίαστοι κτλ.

53 ὥδ' ἐμ': ὠδέ μ' edd.

ἔδονται: so US Greg. Cor.: -ντι cett.

54 γενοῖτο: so codd. Altered to γενηται, on the false assumption that the initial ὡς introduces a final clause: so Schol. iii 54a ὅπως . . . γένηται.

iv title. Probably Νομείς Βάπτος καὶ Κορ]υδων, which is long enough to centre approximately over the first line: this title, one of many transmitted, occurs in EGTU (see Schol. p. 134 Wendel) and passes into the Renaissance editions (see Ahrens).

2 ε has been altered from or to some other letter; above it ink, not all accounted for as an acute accent.

Remaining: one unplaced scrap.

## 3548. THEOCRITUS

(ADDENDA TO 2064)

Further fragments, assembled by Mr Lobel, of the book-roll published as 2064 by Hunt and Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* (1930).

The roll had a minimum upper margin of 2.5 cm, minimum lower margin of 4 cm; minimum intercolumnium 4 cm. The written height must have been c. 14 cm; the roll-height 20 cm minimum. Twenty-five columns survive in part, which would have covered c. 4 m of papyrus.

The text is heavily annotated. Many corrections come from, or may come from, the original copyist. Two or more other writers contributed the rest; these further annotations are printed without distinction in smaller type.

Each new fragment takes the number of its nearest neighbour in the old series, with the suffix 'A', 'B' etc.; thus new fr. 22A follows next on old fr. 22. I have not reprinted the old fragments, when nothing new accrues to them;<sup>1</sup> when a new fragment joins an old one, the resulting text is printed complete.

The following table shows the columns of the original roll, the fragments surviving from each, and the text originally contained in them. Note: (i) col. 1 must have been the sixth of the complete roll; after col. 5, five complete columns are lost, not four as Hunt and Johnson have it (here numbered 6-9 and 9a, in order not to disturb the numeration of the following columns); (ii) the figure for first or last line of column stands in square brackets when it is inferred from the general column-height (25-6 lines), not established by the physical remains of the papyrus; (iii) for the fragments marked \*, the reader is referred to *Two Theocritus Papyri*.

Col.	<i>Idyll</i>	Fragments	Col.	<i>Idyll</i>	Fragments
1	i 132-[vi 5]	1*	15	vii 104-vii 129	18a ii 18B 20 20A-C 21 21A 22 22A 41
2	[vi 6]-[vi 31]	2*	16	vii 130-vii 154	23* 24 25 26 26A-B
3	[vi 32]-iv 11?	3* 4* 4A 5	17	vii 155-iii 21	27 28 28A-B 28C i
4	iv 12-[iv 37]	6 i*	18	iii 22-iii 46	28C ii 28D-E 29 30 30A 31 31A 32 33 i
5	[iv 38]-iv 63	6 ii*	19	iii 47-viii 16	28E 33 ii 34 35 35A 36 36A i 36B 37
6	v 1-[v 26]		20	viii 17-viii 41	38 38A-B 36A ii
7	[v 27]-[v 52]		21	viii 42-[viii 66]	39* 40* (41 relocated in col. 15)
8	[v 53]-[v 78]		22	[viii 67]-viii 91	42 42A-B
9	[v 79]-[v 104]		23	viii 92-ix 25	43 43a
9a	[v 105]-[v 127]		24	ix 26-[x 14?]	
10	[v 128]-vii 2	7 i* 7a* 8 8A 9 9A			
11	vii 3-vii 27	7 ii* 10* 11 11A			
12	vii 28-vii 52	11B 12* 13* 14* 14a i*			
13	vii 53-vii 78	14a ii 14B 15 15A 16*			
14	vii 79-vii 103	17 18 18A 18a i 19 19A-C			

If *Id.* ix, x, and xi appeared consecutively, fr. 44 (xi 14-20) will have come from col. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Some minor corrections can be made. *Two Theocritus Papyri* p. 5, *Id.* i 133 for ἄ read ᾶ, 143 for δίδου read δίδου (iota suprascript above hypsilon); p. 6, vi 38 schol. for ἀπο παρρη read εν παρω; p. 7, v 138 schol. for τρυτ κτλ. read κατεδικασε [τ]ρυ Κομ(ατα).

fr. 4A + 5

iv 4 υ]φ[ιη]τι τὰ [μοσχια  
 τι]ν' αφαντ[οc  
 αγ]ω<sup>ν</sup> νιν ἐπ ἀ[λφειον  
 ] ἐλαϊόν ε[ν  
 ], γραφειν και  
 ηρ]ακληί βια[ν  
 μα]τηρ πολυ[δευκεος  
 10 c]κάπάναγ [ <sup>αν αμην α.</sup>  
 ] καὶ τὼς [ <sup>αν αμην α.</sup>  
 foot?

fr. 8 + 8A

v 142 ι]δ' ω[ε  
 ] ποιμε[νοc  
 α]μνά<sup>ν</sup>· ε[. . . . .]. [  
 145 ] κερ[ο]ψ[χιδ]εc· αύριο[ν  
 c]νβαρίτι[δοc εν]δοθ[ι  
 ] κορυπτ[ιλοc  
 τ]υ· πρι[ν  
 α]μν[ον

iv 5 The elision-mark represented only by a doubtful high trace.

7-8 om. G.

7 ἐλαιον remains; two other accents, ἐλαϊον and ἐλαιόν, were cancelled; for the last see Schol. τινες ἐλαιόν δξυντόνωc κτλ.

8 βια[ν: βίην codd.

suprascr. Presumably καλλιο]ν, δε]ι or the like, then γραφειν κα[λλοc: Schol. (on βίην και κάρτοc) γράφεται κάλλοc, και ἔcτι κάλλιον κτλ.

10 suprascr. See Hunt and Johnson: δικελλ]αν αμην αξ[ινην looks plausible; αξ[ better than ατ[ (Aτ[τικοι; then the lower trace is a long-mark on αν below).

v 144 α]μναν altered to α]μνον: ἀμόν codd. (τὰν ἀ. K<sup>2</sup>, rightly: τὸν cett.).

fr. 9 + 9A

vii 1 θαλυc]ια [ <sup>1</sup>  
 εγω]ν τε και εκκ[ριτοc  
 c]υν [[<sup>κ</sup>τ]αι τρίτο[ε  
 ]ται δια το επ α[γ]αθη [ <sup>1</sup>  
 ]. [ ]εμποιουcθ[ι], αλο. [

foot

fr. 11 + 11A

vii 24 ] ή τ[ινοc] α[ετ]ων [ <sup>1</sup>  
 ν]εισο[μεν]οιο  
 π]οτ αρβυλ[ιδ]εccιν αειδει . [ <sup>1</sup>  
 αμειφθη]ν· λυκίδα [φι]λε· φαντ[ι] τυ[ <sup>1</sup>  
 ]ε πυτια[. . . . .]. [ . . . . .] φ. [ <sup>1</sup>  
 ]διατ[. . . . .] ]παναμειν[ι]. [ <sup>1</sup>  
 ], α [ . . . . . ] νμα δεξ[ι] <sup>1</sup>  
 ], οξυ[. . . . .] ], ετερον κ[ <sup>1</sup>  
 ]τα . . . . . [ <sup>1</sup>

fr. 11B

vii 34 αλω]αν· <sup>1</sup>  
 α]ώc· . [ <sup>1</sup>

vii Title. If the title centred approximately on the first line, another word or words (perhaps a dozen letters) must have followed θαλυc]ια.

1 εγω]ν: ἐγώ codd.

τε: above tau, pen marks in the shape of a sloping capital gamma. Hunt and Johnson took them as an ornamental flourish to the title; but perhaps an alteration, γ or γ[α] to give εγω]νγγε or εγω]νγγ[α].

2 ται altered to και: και KALU: δε PQW.

marg. inf. Perhaps θαλυcια ωνομαc]ται (Hunt and Johnson), with an explanation on the lines of τὸ ὑπερ εὐθαλίαιc διδόμενον (Suda).

vii 25 ν]εισο[μεν]οιο: so according to Ahrens H ('ubi ei sec.'), D: νεicc- Vatic. 40 and Coisl. gr. 169; νεicc- fere cett.

marg. inf. The beginning clearly refers to 16 ταμίcιο: πυτια (-α[ι]) [γ](αρ) (is used to make cheese). What follows may refer to 19: δεξ[ι]αι, ξυ[λον (-λων), ετερον (cf. Schol. ix 23b ἀμυντήριον ἑτερορρεπέc) would all suit a description of the club.

vii 34 αλω]αν: so KALU: ἄλωνα PQW.

35 The trace to the right, a projecting horizontal that might represent e.g. a tau or a paragraphus, ought to belong to the ranging line of col. 13, i.e. vii 60 or so. But I have not found a placing.

fr. 15 + 15A  
top?  
vii 53 εριφοι]ς νο[τος  
ακ]ξανωι [   
οπτευμενο]ν εξ αφρ[οδιτας  
] με [[τ]]ατα[ιθε]ι·  
κ]υματα τα[ν τ]ε θαλασσα  
κ]εινει·  
]. . . .

fr. 14(a) ii + 14B

vii 69 και [πιομαι μ]αλα[κως  
αυται]σιν κυλι]κεσσι[[ν]] [   
αυληξεν]ντι] δε μοι δύο [   
εις δε λυκωπέιτας· ο δε [   
ώς ποκα τās ξενέας η]ρασσατο  
χως ορος αμφεπονείτο κα[ι  
75 εϊμέρᾱ [[ε]]τεφυοντο παρ οχ[θαισιν  
εϋτε χίων ως τις κατατ[α]κετρο [   
η άθω η ροδόπαν η καυκαορ[ν  
αϊσει δ' ως ποτ εδεκτο τον αιπ[ολον  
κοματ[ας ο βο]υκολος αι περι τ. [   
.. εφ. . . ]ουτα[θ. . . ] μαθων' τον[ ] . . . [   
κα. . . [ ] . . . ]νιμφαι τα[   
αμ. [   
της κιβ[ ]του ετρεφον. . . [   
την νη[ ]ατων ευρ[   
φοβηθη[ ]ιερωσεν τ[

foot

vii 57 τα[ν: so QWLU: τήν KAPHO Coisl. gr. 169 (according to Ahrens).  
58 κ]εινει: κι- codd.

vii 72 λυκωπέιτας: -πίτας Pap. 2, codd.

73 τās ξενέας: so codd. plerique: τās ξενίας P, v.l. in Schol.: τās ξανθās v.l. in Schol.: ταξανέας Pap. 2.

74 αμφεπονείτο altered to -ητο: αμφεπονείτο KP<sup>1</sup>G (αμφ' Pap. 2): αμφεπολείτο cett.

75 εϊμέρᾱ: ἴμ- codd.

εστεφυοντο altered to αιτεφυοντο: αιτε φύοντι codd.: αιτ' εφύοντο Pap. 2.

76 κατατ[α]κετρο: so P: κατε- cett., Pap. 2.

78 ποτ: ποκ' codd.

margin. inf. e.g. περι τα[ς Νυμφας | ε]γγετρο.

fr. 17 + 18 + 18A + 18B + 18(a) i + 19 + 19A + 19B

top  
vii 79 ζωνο]ντα κακαισιν ατ[ας]θαλιη<sup>α</sup>ει]ν  
νι]ν αῑ σίμαι λ[ει]μ[[δ]]νόθε φέρβον ιον]σαι  
αδ]είαν [μαλακοι]ς ανθεσς[ι] μελ[ι]ς[ε]α[ι  
ου]νεκα οι γλ[υκυ μοισα κ]ατα στομα[τ]ος χ[ε]ν[εκταρ] <sup>κεδρωην κιβω̄  
ιστι ωδος ην</sup>  
ω] μακάρεις[τε κοματα τ]υ θην ταδε τ[ε]ρπηνα π[επονθεις  
κ]ατεκ[λας]θης ες λαρνακα [και] τυ μ[ε]λ[ι]σσαν  
85 φ]ερβο[μενος] ετος ώριον εξε[π]ον[ασας  
] ζωρις ε[ναριθ]μιος ωφελέν ημι]εν <sup>ενα νομεν]ω αυτι σου  
και επα]κουω σου  
την φωνην]</sup>  
] ενομευον αν [ωρεα τās] κα[λας  
εισαι]ων· τυ δ' υπο [   
μελιςδομ]ε]νος κατε[κεκλιςο  
90 ] απεπα]υσατο  
εφαμα]ν· λυκιδα φ[ιλε  
]ε[διδ]άξαν α[ν  
κ]αι ζανος επι θ[ρονον  
π]αντων μέγ' υ[πειροχον  
95 ] . . . [ . ] . [

vii 79 κακαισιν ατ[ας]θαλιηει]ν altered to -θαλιασει]ν: -[α]ίσειν . . . -ησιν Pap. 2: -αισιν . . . -αισιν KP: -ήσειν . . .  
-ησιν cett.

80 ιον]σαι: ιοίσαι Pap. 2, codd.

81 ανθεσς[ι]: so codd. plerique: -εαι Pap. 2, K.

83 μακάρεις[τε: -ρις- Pap. 2, codd.

85 εξε[π]ον[α]: so Pap. 2, codd. plerique: εξετέλεσσα QWM.

86 ημι]εν: damaged traces above, perhaps ει (alteration to εμ[εν]): ημεν Pap. 2, Mosch. (-εε ALU): εϊμεν K  
(-εε PQW).

87 High traces, presumably something suprascript, above the area which would be occupied by τας].

89 κατε]: so Pap. 2, KPQW: κατα- Q<sup>2</sup>ALU.

90 απεπα]υσατο: so Pap. 2, cett.: αν- K.

93 ζανος: so cett.: ζη- KAHOM Coisl. gr. 169 (Ahrens).

fr. 19C

100 ] αγερι τ[ηνωι  
 ] ποθος· οἰ[δ]ξ[ν  
 κ]εν αυτος α[ειδειν  
 τριποδ]εσι μεγα[ιροι  
 αιθ]ετ' ερωτ[ι  
 πεδο]ν' οστε λελ[ογχαα  
 foot

fr. 18(a) ii + 18B + 20 + 20A-C + 21 + 21A + 22 + 22A + 41

top

vii 106 κει μ]εν ταυθ' ε[ρδοις ω παν φιλε] μήτι τυ παίδες

104 ακλητογ [κ]ε[ιν]οιο φιλα[ε ες χεί]ρας ερείαιαι  
 105 ίετ' εστ ἀρα φιλ[ε]ίνος ο μαλθακος είτε τις αλλος  
 107 αρκαδικοι[ε] κκι[λλ]αιζιν υπο πλευρα' τε και ωμου[ε  
 τανίκα μαστιζοιεν' οτε κρεα τυτθα παρειη·  
 ει δ' αλλως νέυσαις κατα μεν χ[ρόα] παντ ουνεχοῖ  
 110 δακνομενος κνασαιο· κ[αι εν κνί]δαισι καθευδοις  
 ειησ δ' ηδωνώ[ν με]ν εν ο[υρεσι χειμ]ατι μεσσωι  
 'έβρον π[αρ ποταμων] τετρ[αμμενος ε]γγυθ[εν] α[ρκτω  
 εν δε θ[ε]ρει νομευο]ις  
 π[ε]τρα' [ ορατο]ς  
 115 υμ]με[ε]ς λιποντε]ς  
 ναμα [ διώ]νας  
 ω μά[λλ]οιαιιν  
 β]αλλετ[ε  
 β]αλλετ[ε  
 120 κα]ι δῆ [ ] φιλ[ε]ινε τι το[ι  
 μ[ηκετ]ι τ[οι] φρουρεωμες επι προ[θυροισιν  
 μηδε ποδας τρειβωμες· ο δ' ορθρ[ι]ος

ακλητ. [ ερωμ. . . ]

κν[ιδ] . . . κ[νη]·  
 εμωδῶ  
 ηδ[ων]οι εθνος θρακῶ . ωρ. [ . . . ]  
 . . . εν λυκογγροσ[ . . . ]  
 . . . ποταμῶ θρακῶ

βλεμ[ι]νες εθνος της αιθιοπιας

125 κοκκυζων γαρκαϊων ανειαρα[ιαι  
 εἶς δ απο τ[α]ε φεριστε μόλων [ αμ[μ]ιν δ' ἀξ[υ]χία τε μελρι γρα[ια  
 'ατ[ι]ε]πιφθυ[ζ]οια τῆ μη καλα [ ε]φαμαν ο δέ μοι τ[ο]λα[β]ώ[βολον γελα]ξας  
 129 ως [παρ]ος εκ μοικᾶν ξε[ι]νηιον ἦ]μεν  
 υμι[ε] δ νετι]δος [κ]αι βυβλιδος βυβλι[ . . . ]  
 . . . ]πατηρ μιλη[το]ς αδελφῆ . [ . . . ]

vii 106 added (by the first hand, it seems) in the upper margin; caret-mark in the left margin between 105 and 107.

ταυθ': so Pap. 2, Q; ταῦτ' cett.

μήτι τυ: so KPQW; μητι εν Pap. 2; μήτε τι ALU.

marg. sup. The fourth line of commentary clearly refers to vii 107f.; the third might similarly be read ], ουσι τω Παγγ; in the second λακωων (or λε-) seems clear (although Scholl. do not refer to any Laconian ritual in this connection).

104 [κ]ε[ιν]οιο: so Pap. 2, cett.: τήνοιο S.

105 είτε φίλνος ἄρ' ἔστιν S.

107 ωμου[ε]: so codd.: -μω εdd.

108 μαστιζοιεν: so Pap. 2; -ιδ- codd.

109 νέυσαις: so Pap. 2, PQWALU: -εις K.

111 ο[υ]ρεσι: so cett.: ὄρ- Pap. 2, QL.

112 εβρον: so US; εἶρον cett.: ]ρω πα[ρ] ποταμω Pap. 2 corr.

τετρ[α]μμενος: so Pap. 2, codd. plerique: κεκλιμένος K<sup>2</sup>PQ<sup>1</sup>W.

114 marg. Cf. Schol. Βλέμνες ἔθνος Αἰθιοπικόν.

121 τι: τό codd.

122 φρουρεωμες: so codd. plerique: -ώμες/-οῦμες codd. pauci (see Ahrens).

124 κοκκυζων: so P; -εδων cett.

γαρκαϊων: so S; -ηων cett.

ανειαρα[ιαι]: so (ἀνι-) PS: -ηραῖαι K; -ηρήαι cett.

125 απο: so KQ<sup>2</sup> Schol.lemm.: ὑπό ALU; ἐπί PQW Schol.

μόλων: the accent seems clear, although only the lower tip remains: i.e. Μόλων, not μολών, see Schol.

127 ε]πιφθυ[ζ]οια: so codd. plerique (-ουσα KAP etc., see Ahrens): -εδοια (for which there is no space in pap.) QW.

τξ altered to τα: τα codd.

128 The initial space suits τόσε' (KQ<sup>2</sup>ALU); ὤε (cett.) too short.

λα]. : gamma suprascript to beta (i.e. λαβωγ- by metathesis?) or rho.

γελα]ξας: so P. Berol. 21 182 (ZPE 4(1969) 114), codd. plerique: -ccac U<sup>2</sup>S Mosch.

129 The beginning of this line, and of the comment below, stands on fr. 41, relocated here.

ἦ]μεν: ἦμεν/εἶμεν codd. plerique: ἦμεε M Tr (Ahrens).

marg. inf. Lemma and comment on 115. Βυβλί[ε] . . . ἦε δ] πατήρ Μίλη[το]ς ἀδελφῆ ἦ[ν] Καύνου or the like, see Schol.

fr. 24 + 25 + 26 + 26A

vii 134 εν τξ [   
 πολλ[αι   
 αιγειρο[ι πτ]ελ[εαι τε   
 νυ[[<sup>μ</sup>]]φ[αν ε]ξ άν[τροιο   
 τοι δε π[οτι ς]κι[αραι   
 τεττ[ιγες] λα[λαγευντες   
 140 τ]ηλ[οθεν] ε[[<sup>μ</sup>]] π[υκιναι   
 κο]ρύδο[ι   
 πωτωντ]ο ξό[υθαι μελι]ςσα[ι ...[   
 παντ ωζε]ν θ[ερεος οπ]ώρας περιε[   
 οχναι μ]εν [ πλευραι]ςι δε μάλα   
 145 δαψιλεως] ά[μιν εκ]εχυντο   
 ]. [ έ]ραζε   
 κρα]τος αλ[ε]ιφα[ρ   
 αι]πο[ς] εχ]όισα[ι   
 λαινο]ν αν[τ]ρον   
 . . . . .   
 fr. 26B   
 152 ]. [   
 κα]τ αυλ[ια   
 διε]κρᾶνώ[σατε   
 ]φοεχο[   
 ].[.].[

vii 143 ωζε]ν suits the space better than ὠσθεν codd.

οπ]ώρας: so KPHM (Ahrens): -ης cett.

145 The accent is unexpectedly low (only the left tip remains); perhaps the ink should be explained in some other way.

146 ]. [; remains of something suprascript.

έ]ραζε: so Athen. EtMagn.: -cδε codd.

vii 154 διε]κρᾶνώ[σατε: so ALU Schol. v.1. EtMagn.: -νάσατε cett.

fr. 27 + 28 + 28A-B + 28C i

iii 1 [   
 [   
 [   
 5 [   
 [   
 [   
 [   
 10 [   
 τ]υ και [α]υριφ[ν   
 ] εμιν άχ[ος αιθε γενοι]μαν . [   
 κ]αι ες τεον [αντρον] ικοιμαν   
 διαδυ]ς και ταν [πτεριν] α τυ πυκά. [   
 15 ερω]τα· βα[[<sup>θ</sup>]]υς θεος ηρ[α] . . . ηρ. . . ε. . . αν. [   
 δ]ρυνώι τ[ε μιν ετ]ραφε ματη[ρ   
 κ]αι ες ος [τεον αχρι]ς ιάπτει   
 τ]ο πᾶν λ[ιθος <sup>νοφρυ</sup> ]. ' . [ ] φρυ   
 ]. με το[ν ] φιλα[ςω   
 20 φιλ]ημ[αειν τ]ερψις   
 ] κ[ατ αυτ]ικᾶ λεπτα προησει   
 ]ολι[ς]θαρ[. . . ] . ν. <sup>α</sup>   
 . . . . .   
 . . . . . [   
 . . . . .   
 ] απορομε   
 ν]ος φ. . . . . ετα   
 μετρων εις τον   
 στεφανον

iii 1-6 The comment in the left-hand margin of fr. 28C ranges with iii 27-32 in the next column, and therefore with the beginning of *Id.* iii in this (allowing a double line-space between vii 157 and iii 1). But the mention of Simichidas shows that these lines form part of an extended note on the end of *Id.* vii. If ll. 2-3 are to be restored *B]ρα[ς]ιλα] ταφον*, and 4-5 *φη[ι] (τον) Ci]μιχιδα*, there was general discussion of places and persons.

12 εμιν: so codd. dett.: έμόν codd.

. [; beginning of a comment close up to the line end; the presumed high stop in 13 may be part of the same.

14 πυκά. [; the high flat trace would allow ς[δ (codd.) or ζ[ (the spelling preferred elsewhere in this manuscript).

16 ετ]ραφε: so A Stob.: έτρεφε cett.

17 ιάπτει: so KAGNU: ικάνει cett.

18 λ[ιθος (codd.) or λ[ιπος (Schol. v.1.); not έπος (Schol. v.1.)

κ]ύα[νο]φρυ would satisfy space and trace; suprascript gloss μελα]νοφρυ (Hunt and Johnson)?

19 φιλα[ςω: so codd.: -ήσω Ahrens.

20 φιλ]ημ[αειν: so PW Stob.: -ά- cett.

21 προησει: so Q; -cής KN: ποιησει]ς-cής cett.

marg. inf. ολι[ς]θαρ[ου]ςεν possible. See Schol. iii 18c-d.



frr. 28C ii + 28D-E + 29 + 30 + 30A + 31 + 31A + 32 + 33 i

iii 22 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 25 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 κάι κ[α  
 εγνω[ν  
 ουδε. [  
 30 αλλ' α[υτωσ  
 έιπ[ε  
 ἄ πρ. . [  
 [ ]  
 λ]εϋ[καν  
 35 ταν με] κα[[λ'] ἄ μερμνω[νος  
 \* ] δωσῶ δι επει [  
 ο]φθαλμος [  
 ], έυμαι ποτι [  
 ι]σως ποτιδοι [  
 40 ιππο]μενης ὄκα δη [  
 μαλ ε]ν χερσιν εχων δ[ρομον  
 ], ως εμανη· ως ες [  
 τα]ν αγέλαν χω μ[αντισ  
 ες π]υλον· ἄ δε βια[ντος  
 45 ματη]ρ ἄ χαριες[σα  
 ταν] δε κάλαν κυθερειαν [  
 ἀπο]θνος ηγε μελαμπ[ου]ς φασιν [  
 ], ε κ παν μεν μελος [  
 ], βολης του ηλιου μελ[ανθημαι  
 ], ἀπο τσικανης αιτιας [  
 ], γ ωστε ακρηνειν π[ι  
 ], ετι της οικιας [  
 ], ἦ του . [ ] κον[ ]  
 ], ει . ιε . [ ] ταις[ ]  
 ], ναι[ ] ] κρι . [ ]  
 ], [ ] . . . [ ]

οὐν  
οφθαλμῶ

καλυκες λεγον[ται] μηπω  
εκπεπτα]μενα ροδω απ[ο] το]ν καλυ  
πτειβαι ] δύσσοσ ο δυσχ[ερ]ως σω  
ζο]μενος η ο απασο . [ . . . ] . απελαύ[ ]  
βαιτ]αν δερμα [ . . . ]

ονο]μα αλειωσ [  
] . αθηνη . [ ]  
] κατα σε ηδυν μ[οι] εστι  
το θαν]ειν / εμε [ ]  
] εστι παχουσ ητ[ ]  
] . . [ ] ] πηχεω[ ]

μελανο]χ[ρωσ  
] . . . . τριφρενη  
ενδιαθρυπ]τη  
ιδ]ησῶ  
απο]κλινθεις  
] λθωνη . . . . .  
αδαμαν]τ[ι]να εστ[ ]  
] ποδον εν τ . ὄ  
] ηθελε γᾶ[μα]ι  
] δ' [ ] ταλάγ[τα  
ερ]ωτα  
αγ]ε μ[ε] λαμπ[ους  
εκλί]νθ[η]  
αλφεσιβοι]αε αλφ[ε]σιβοια βιαντος[ ] και πηρους  
νο]με[υων θυγατηρῶ

], ηρο . [ ]  
], ει δοιη [ ]  
], οι ο νους εκει  
νη πα]ρεξομαι την  
αιγα ο]τι εν μοι εντα

] ορος θεσσαλιας

iii 22 Frr. 28D-E contain comment from the upper and right-hand margin, with the first letter of the first line of the next column (iii 47), which fixes the alignment. 3 refers to iii 37<sup>2</sup>, 5 f. to 23, 7 to 24, 10 to 26, 12 to 27, 14 to 30.

- 29 ουδε. [ : apparently gamma or pi: οὐδὲ τό codd.
- 35 καλά altered to και ἄ (codd.).
- 36 δωσῶ: the accent apparently written twice. The stop at the end is a doubtful blob; more heavy traces above, cutting the comment at ερ.
- 38 ] . : prima facie the foot of a vertical.
- 39 ποτιδοι: so codd. plerique: -δη PD Coisl. gr. 169 (Ahrens).
- εσς. [ : the trace suggests εσσαι; the suprascript correction might be -τ[ι] or -τ[αι: ἐστι P: ἐντί cett.
- 41 εχων: ἐλών codd.
- 42 Not ως ιδε]ν, perhaps ως ι]δ, which suits both trace and space better.
- εσ: so codd. plerique: εἰς KPVO.
- 45 αλφεσιβοι]αε: so codd. plerique: -ης KPVO.

frr. 28E + 33 ii + 34 + 35 + 35A + 36 + 36A i + 36B + 37

ταν[ ]  
ωνη. [ ]

iii 47 ο[υχ  
[ ]  
[ ]  
50 [ ]  
[ ]  
α[λγεω  
κεις[ευμαι  
ως μ[ελι  
] βρ[ο]χθ[οιο  
] . . . [ ]  
viii 1 [ ] κυναν]τετο β[ουκολεοντι  
μα]λα ὠ]ρεα μ[ακρα  
αμ]φω [ ] ] ] ἄμ[φω  
α]μφω [ ]  
5 πρᾶ]τος ] δαφ[νιν ι]δω[ν  
μ]υ[κηταν] ] βοων [ ]  
οc]σον θ[ε]λω ] τφ[ι]ψ[δ  
π[οιμην οιω]ν [ ]

]. [ ]  
] πρ . . εκ [ ]  
] . μενοτ . [ ]  
] φλαξ εαν δ [ ]  
ε]πρηπα

10	<u>ούκα</u> [	] μ' ουδ[		
	<u>χρη</u> [	] χρηζ[ε	ον νικησεις με φη ειν ουδ αν τοσα . . [ παθης δε, ομε ]. ων αντι ουν . .	
	<u>χρηζ</u> [ω	] χρη[		
	<u>και</u> [	κ]εγ [	η]μιν φησιν επ[ . . .	
	<u>μ[οσχον</u>	αμνόν]ν	ικον τη μη <sup>τ</sup> γεν[ <sup>θ</sup> ]πρ. .	
15	ου θη[σω	]. . [	] μεν	l.
	χα μ[ατηρ τα δε μηλ]α προθ[εσπερα	]. 'ντι	κρινουσι . . .	
			και διαικ <sup>ο</sup> τ <sup>ο</sup> απσμ. . . τ	
			]. νικηθηναι ]. νυμφην[ . . . ]. []	
				foot

viii 2 μα[λα: so codd.: μήλα edd.

5 πρ[ά]τος: so PQW: πρῶ- cett.

6 marg. On ἐπίουρε βοῶν. Two glosses are offered (perhaps εα]ν μεν οτι --- εαν δ[ε]; φύλαξ (with derivation from ᾠρῶ: so Schol. Theoc. here) and ἐπόπτα (from ὄρῶ: Tryphon, fr. 100 Velsen ap. Schol. A II. 13. 450 . . . ἐπίορον καὶ ἐπίουρον τὸν ἐπιορώντα).

10 ὄυκα[: οὔποτε codd. Above kappa, the foot of a slanting upright, by another hand: e.g. π[σ]τε.

marg. Paraphrase. δε. ομε: the doubtful letter has a long tail: δεξόμε, then [νος τὸ ἀθλον? Not the expected ἄδων.

11 χρηζ[ε]c: χρησδ- codd.

interlin. Paraphrase of χρηζεις ὧν ἐξειδεῖν (Hunt & Johnson)?

marg. On ὦν. Not τ]ο ων: perhaps δωρικ]ο]ν ων

12 χρηζ[ω: χρησδ- codd.

13 και. [: so codd. plerique: ἀλλὰ Q in ras., H Mosch.

κ]εγ: ὁ κεν ἄμιν Mosch.: ὅστις χ' ἄμιν KALNU: ὅστις ἄμιν PQW.

marg. Paraphrase on ἄμιν ἄρκιον εἶη.

14 marg. Paraphrase of ἰσομάτορα. At the end perhaps προστ (i.e. προς το), then μεγεθο]ς in the next line.

16 ]απροθ[ not clear, and the traces above too small to place securely in line 15. But otherwise this isolated piece fits well enough; and the comment at the foot could be construed as part of a continuous text with that to the right (below fr. 36A col. i).

marg. Perhaps κρινον αιολη. It might be expected that the comment referred to the spelling of μήλα; but I have failed to reconstruct the third line in this sense.

marg. inf. The central lacuna was (very roughly) of twenty letters. Part can be reconstructed from the unusually close text of Schol. Theoc. viii, Hypoth. b:

νφ ο]ν νικηθηναι

Μεναλκαν αδοντα Πανος και ] νυμφων κρ[ιωντων γαμηθηναι δε αυτ]ω νυμφην [θαλεια]ν  
διδα]χθηναι μαρην[αν την αυλητικην

In the second line, νυμφων as codd. (removed by editors); the participle must then be plural (-τος codd.). In the third line, codd. have Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ φησιν ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ὑπὸ Δάφνιδος μαθεῖν Μαρσύαν κτλ.; the initial gap will not hold all this.

fr. 38 + 38A-B + 36A ii

viii 29	χοι μ]εν παιδες [	κριν]ε[ι]ν [
	πρα]τος [[ <sup>δ</sup> γ]] ὦν γ' ἀε[ιδε	μεναλκα]ς . [ . ] . [
	ειτα] δ' αμοιβάια]ν	αο]ιδαν
	βουκολ]ε[ικαν] οντ[ω	πρ]ατ[ο
	. . . ] . [	] αί τι μεναλκα
	πη]ποκ[ ο c]υβ[ικ]τᾶς [	μελ]οc.
35	βόςκοιτ' εκ ψυ[[δ]]ας τα[ς	ποκ]' [
	δαφ]ν]ις εχων δαμά]λας	
	κ[ράν]αι κ[α]ι βοταναι γλ[υκερον	
	μον. ι[[δ]]οι δάφνις τᾶιςιν α[ηδονι	
	τροντ]ο] το βουκόλιον π[[ε]]ιάιν[ετε	
	γ γοι χαιρων	
40	τῆιδ' [α] [[τ]]α[[παντατεροι]] ἀφ[θονα	
	παντᾶι ἑαρ' παντᾶι δε νομ[οι	
		foot

viii 29 κριν]εν altered to κριν]εν, it seems, by crossing through the iota: κρίνειν KPQW: κρίναι ALNU. See Gow i, p. lxxiv.

30 γῶν γ' altered to δ ὦν γ' : δ' ὦν codd. Traces in the right-hand margin: the first looks like the pen of the main text, the second is the thinner pen of a comment.

31 αμοιβάια]ν: so HK (and perhaps P): -ην cett., according to Ahrens.

32 πρ]ατ[οc: so codd. plerique: πρῶτος Ahrens's v and Coisl. gr. 169.

34 πη]ποκ: πήποχ' codd. At the line-end, a low point.

35 ψυδας, delta crossed out, something suprascript (presumably χ: the flattened oblique trace would suit the lower left of the cross): ψυχᾶc codd.

37 The accent is vestigial.

38 μον. ἴδοι (the trace suggests μου[c]εῖ- more than μουσί-) altered to -ίλοι; μουσίλοι P (Ahrens), -ίδοι codd. pler. (Ahrens): μουσίδοι WAU.

39 βουκόλιον: so codd. plerique: βω- HPS etc. (Ahrens).

πειῶν]ετε altered to πι-: πιαίνετε codd. plerique: ποιμαίνετε ANU.

40 τῆιδ': so K: τῆδ' QWALNU: τεῖδ' PQ?

αγαγοι χαιρων: so codd. (except ἀγάγη S). The first version of the papyrus, which the scribe himself corrected, anticipated the line-end ἄφθονα πάντα νέμοι; but νεμοι cannot be read for τεροι (where tau is doubtful, since the trace is confused by the deletion-stroke; but rho is certain).

40-1 The line-order of codd.: Bindemann transposed 41-3 after 45-7.

frg. 42 + 42A-B

viii 71 δ]αφ[ν]ις [λιγυ]ρωσ ανεβά[λλετ  
 α]γτ[ρ]ω κυνοφρυς κόρα ε[χ]θεσ  
 παρ]ελαγτα καλον καλο[ν  
 λό]γον εκρ[ιθ]ην άπο το[ν  
 75 βλε]ψιασ ταν άμετέραν οδ[ον  
 τα]ς πόρτι[[δε]]ς άδν [[.]]ο πνε[υμα  
 μοσ]χο[[ν]] γάρύεται· αδν δε χ[α βωσ  
 θερε]ορ παρ υδωρ ρέον αιθρι[οκοιτειν  
 βα]λάνοι κροσμοσ· τά[ι  
 80 μοσ]χοσ· τωι βουκολωι ά[ι] β[οεσ  
 αέ]ιαν· ο δ' αιπολοσ ώδ' [[ε]] αγορευ[εν  
 άδ]υ ] τοι και εφιμερον [ώ] δ[α]φ[νι  
 κρ]εσσον μελπομ]ένω [[<sup>τ</sup>νιν]] ακ[ουεμεν  
 λα]εδεο ]· εν[ί]κᾶσας [  
 85 άι [δ]ε τ[ι κα]ι αυτ[ον ]· [  
 τή]γαν [  
 άτ]ι]ς υπε[ρ  
 ως μεν ό [  
 ]λικον/το νικ[  
 νικᾶ]σαι· [  
 90 [ ]  
 91 [ ]

viii 72 α]γτ[ρ]ω: so codd. plerique: -ρον PW, -ρων D (Ahrens).

κυνοφρυς κόρα ε[χ]θεσ ιδοισα: so codd. plerique: ή παις κύνοφρυς ιδοίσα P etc., see Ahrens.

73 παρ]ελαγτα: so PQW: -λαύντα ALNU: -λεύντα K.

74 λό]γον: so QWALNU: -ων KP.

άπο το[ν: άτοπον Schol. v.l.

75 άμετέραν: so codd. plerique: ήμ- K and Ahrens's v (Ahrens).

76 πόρτιδες altered to πόρτιος: πόρτιος codd.

[[.]]: gamma or pi.

77 μοσ]χον altered to -οσ: -οσ codd. Valckenaer deleted the line.

78 Interlinear paraphrase παρ υ[δατι] ---?

80 βουκολωι: so HM (perhaps D): βω- cett. (Ahrens).

82 άδ]υ: the long mark might be a paragraphus. To the left, vestiges of scholia<sup>1</sup>. <sup>2</sup> μεν]αλκα, presumably on the ranging line of the previous column (i.e. about viii 57).

εφιμερον: -οσ codd. (έφιμερον . . . φωνεί conl. Ahrens).

83 νιν altered to τευ: τευ codd.

84 εν[ί]κᾶσας: so M Par. 2835 (Ahrens): -ησας cett.

89 νικᾶσαι· [: at the end, the lower part of a slanting upright: probably νικᾶσαι, altered (since the iota in αι is written very close to its alpha) from νικᾶσαι: νικᾶσαι Par. 2512: -ησας cett.

Interlin. αιο]λικον (εστι) το νικ[ασαισ?

fr. 43

top

viii 92 κη]κ του[τω  
 93 κα]ι νυμ[φαν

fr. 43(a)

ix 18 πρ]οσ κεφ[αλαι  
 ]λετηρήω, τ. [ ]. ναρύπρ. . [ ]  
 δ]ρνίνω<sup>1</sup> χόρια ζέει [  
 20 χει]μάινοντοσ· εχω δ[ε  
 ουκ]επιστρεφομαι δι(α) τα, [ ]δι. [ ]  
 ] ή νωδοσ καρ[υ]ων [  
 ] ητοι ο ποι<sup>4</sup> η ο ποιητη[ς  
 ε]πεπλαταγη[σα  
 ] μεν κορυν[αν  
 ]ταν ουδ αν ις[ωσ  
 25 στρό]μβον κα[λον ο]στρα[κον  
 foot

fr. 44

. [ ]  
 xi 15 ] εχθ[ικτον  
 κυ]πριδοσ εκ  
 α]λλα το φαρ[μακον  
 υ]ψηλασ εκ π[οντον  
 ω λ]ευκα γαλ[ατεια  
 του τυ[ρου]  
 20 λευ]κοτερα π[ακτασ

ix 19 I can make nothing of the suprascript comment. ή = ήγουν; but ή might perhaps be read instead. ρυ: the suprascript letter perhaps mu.

21 Interlin. δι(α): the monogram, and the following tau, have been overwritten. At the end, τα κ[αρυ]δια might be read.

25 στρό]μβον: -βω codd.

Interlin. Perhaps κοχ(λου) or κοχ[λ(ου)], and παν agreeing with e.g. ειδοσ earlier in the line (but ] is an upright, not sigma). Gloss on στρομβον; explanation δι(α) το περι[ειλησθαι] or the like, see Schol. Theoc. here.

xi 14 If the papyrus had Id. x and xi after Id. ix (as the MSS do), three complete columns are lost between this fragment and fr. 43-43(a).

Unplaced fragments of text			
fr. 45	fr. 46	fr. 47	fr. 48
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . [	] . [	] κ λ ε [	] λ [ υ ] α [
] μ α [	] . <sup>δ</sup> τ [ ] . [	] α λ λ ' . [	] ν ν . [
] ε λ υ [	] . η κ ω . . [	] τ ε ε [	] . θ [
. . .	] } ] ≡	] . . [	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
fr. 49	fr. 50	fr. 51	fr. 52
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . ν [	] . . [	] υ . [	] . π ε π ε . [
] χ ο [	] κ ε . [	] δ ε [	] . λ ο χ ο υ . [
. . .	] . υ [	] τ [	. . .
. . .	. . .	] μ η [	. . .
. . .	. . .	stripped	. . .

fr. 45 Possibly *Id.* v.6-8. No other fragment of this column has been identified.

fr. 46 1 Lower part of oblique, sloping up to right. Schol. 3: something suprascript above omega. Coronis will have marked the end of an Idyll (as the end of *Id.* iv is marked in fr. 6 col. ii).

fr. 48 1 λ might perhaps be alpha. [ υ ]: above, a suprascript letter of which only a descender remains. 2 .[: lower part of oblique, beginning of alpha etc. 3 ] .[: top of upright.

fr. 49 1 ] .[: parts of upright.

fr. 50 2 .[: upright, hooked leftwards at foot. 3 ] .[: oblique, back of alpha etc.

fr. 52 1 ] .[: end of horizontal at mid-height, cross-bar of epsilon or the like. .[: mu or nu. 2 .[: foot of upright, perhaps hooked to right (as in sigma etc.).

fr. 53	fr. 54	fr. 55	fr. 56
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . α [	] . . [	] . ε ν [	] . μ . [
] . π [ <sup>παρα</sup> α [	] φ [	] . . . . [	] τ η [ ι ] . [
] δ ε δ [	] . ς ε [	. . .	] . [ <sup>ε</sup> α ] φ [
. . .	. . .	. . .	] α ν . [
. . .	. . .	. . .	5 ] . ε μ [
. . .	. . .	. . .	] . ο μ [
. . .	. . .	. . .	] . [
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
fr. 57	fr. 58	fr. 59	fr. 60
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] ε [	] . ω λ [	] . δ [	] ν [
] ς [	] ρ α δ [	] . π ο [	] <sup>ηεν</sup> <sup>κατ</sup> [
] . α ν . [	] η ς . [	] α ν [	] <sup>στ</sup> <sup>ποια</sup> [
. . .	] . [ <sup>η</sup> ] . [	] ' [	] . . . [
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
fr. 61	fr. 62	fr. 63	
. . .	. . .	. . .	
] . . . [	] μ [	] υ [	
] . <sup>ω</sup> ε ν [	] ε [ <sup>κ</sup> τ ] ο μ [	. . .	
] . [	. . .	. . .	

fr. 53 1 ] .[: medium-long descender.

2 ] .[: foot of upright.

fr. 54 1 ] .[: two long descenders.

3 ] .[: upright on the edge.

fr. 55 1 ] .[: upright.

fr. 56 2 .[: upright, blob at its middle (kappa?). high oblique, top right of hypsilon or chi?

3 ] .[: triangular top as of delta or the like. 5 ] .[:

fr. 57 Line ends, unless 2 belongs to a comment.

fr. 58 1 ] .[: perhaps right-hand angle of delta.

4 Eta suprascript to a letter now lost.

fr. 59 1 ] .[: perhaps high oblique (right-hand tip of hypsilon or the like?); but perhaps a smaller trace, then a high point. 4 Illegible comment above this line.

fr. 61 1 Second, upright; third, lower angle of epsilon or sigma? side of omega. 3 Blob: punctuation at line-end?

2 Second, perhaps base and right

## Unplaced fragments of marginalia

fr. 64

]εν φασιν. [  
]ς Αρατον. [  
]ον Λογον ποιει. [  
]ασι ως προς [  
]ν υμνουμ[  
]τη εν ετερω[

fr. 65

]...ον τιμας εσχεν [  
] τιμας εσχεν ιαα[  
Δα] φινδι [  
]δωσιθεος

fr. 66

...7[  
εφορο[  
σφρα[  
δειουτω[  
]...εξε[

fr. 67

]ενετ. [  
] εν τ. γαρα. [  
]ρ νεου και [  
]ν δυο . . . σετη [  
]απεκτειναν ο. [  
]

fr. 68

] πρωτη [

fr. 69

].....[  
]ροσ ολι . [  
]παν κσι [  
]απεδω. [  
]

fr. 70

]αφθει[  
]τοσπρ[  
]...κε[

fr. 64 Blank above and below, but not enough to show whether upper (lower) or side margin. 2-3 parallel Schol. Theoc. vii 122-124a; the piece may come from the right margin of vii 121 ff. (121 φαντί paraphrased as φασίν; then comment on the vocative Αρατε).

fr. 65 Clear margin of 3 cm above; this, and the length of the lines, suggest an upper margin; perhaps that of col. 23, above viii 92. The text would comment on πρώτος παρά ποιμέσι Δάφνις ἔγεντο. 4 apparently mentions Dositheos, presumably by mistake for Sositheos, whose account of Daphnis is cited in Schol. Theoc. viii Hyp. b and on 93a (= Snell, *TrGF* I 99 F 1a). Sosithean material appears in the comment below viii 16 (his name perhaps lost in the lacuna); but fr. 65 does not fit there.

fr. 66 2 ἔφορο[ε might fit in the etymologies of ἐπίουρος, fr. 28E etc. comment on viii 6; but I have not placed it there. Ἐφορο[ε is quoted only once in the extant Scholia, vii 103a (= *FGrH* 70 F 228). 3 ὄφρα occurs at *Id.* xvi 29, xxv 190, xxvii 6. The trace excludes ὁ Φρασ[ίδαμος (vii 3, 131).

fr. 67 2 εν τω γαρ? 3 ο]ρνεου?

fr. 69 2 If the gap before the final trace is not delusory, we have the end of a line of comment, and the first letter of a line of text.

fr. 70 2 Perhaps ] δι(α) το πρρ[.

fr. 71-85 Scraps too tattered to transcribe in isolation.

3549. THEOCRITUS, *Idyll* x 45-56

46 5B.50/C(3-4)a

4.8 × 10 cm

Second century

Two contiguous fragments from the foot of a column (lower margin 4.5 cm); the writing is across the fibres, but the back is blank. The neat bilinear script belongs to the type of X 1233 (Turner, *GMAW* 72), but with a strong left-ward slope. Lectional signs, so far as can be seen, by the original scribe.

x 45

]... [

εε βο]ρξ[ην] ανεμ[ον  
η ζ]εφνρον βλεπε[τω  
αιτ]ον αλοριωντας φ[ευγειν  
εκ] καλαμας αχυρο[ν

50

αρχ]εσθαι δ αμῶν[τας  
και] ληγην ευδοντο[ε  
ευ]κτος ο τῶ βατραχω π[αιδες

τον] το πιῆν ευχευντ[α

κα]λλίον ὦ πιμελητ[α

55

μη πιτάμης τάν χῆρ[α  
τ]αυτα χρ[η] μοχθεντ[αε

45 traces perhaps consistent with α]νδρε[ε.

48 αλοριωντας: so KPQW: -τες ALNU.

50 δ: so KPQW: om. ALNU.

51 ληγην: so L, according to Ameis (λήγην, altered to λήγην): -ειν cett.

53 πιῆν: so Pap. 3 LN: -ειν cett.

ευχευντ[α: so (εγ-) Pap. 3 MS: ἐκχ- cett.

54 κα]λλίον: Doric accent? (See Thumb-Kieckers, *Gr. Dial.* i §83(d) for noun- and verb-forms written paroxytone instead of proparoxytone, perhaps to achieve consistency within each flexional scheme.)

55 μη πιτάμης: so Pap. 3 ALNU Stob.: μή τι τάμης cett.

τάν: so Pap. 3 Q; τήν cett.

χῆρ[α: χείρα codd.

56 μοχθεντ[αε: so codd.: μοχθεντας Pap. 3.

3550. THEOCRITUS, *Idylls* xiv 43-56 and xviii 27-52

46 5B.49/K(3-5)a

5.6 × 13 cm

Second century

45 5B.54/E(1-2)b

17 × 20 cm

Two pieces from a handsome roll containing idylls of Theocritus. The exact proportions of the roll are doubtful but they were clearly generous. The lower margin of fr. 1 is 4 cm and the upper margin of fr. 2 is 2.7 cm; since so little papyrus is left directly

above the writing in fr. 2 and the ink often disappears without trace, there is the possibility that xviii 27 is not the top line of the column. Such proportions for the lower and top margins would however coincide well with Professor Turner's rule of thumb for codices of a ratio of 3:2 (see his *The Typology of the Early Codex* 25). The nu in fr. 2 i may help to determine the number of lines per column. Since it is opposite xviii 43, which is ten lines from the last extant line of col. ii, it must be around xviii 17 (= 27, the top line of col. ii, less 10) or further back. xviii 17 does not end in nu, so either it is from *χλαῖναν* in 19 and eight lines in col. i are parallel to ten in col. ii or the nu comes from *Λακωνῶν*, *ἀγαπατῶν* or *νιῶν* in 4, 5, or 6 respectively. In the former case there would be approximately 26 lines per column with a written area 17.3 cm high and a column height of about 24 cm, in the latter 37–9 lines (perhaps an average of 40) with a written area between about 24.5 and 26.5 cm and a column height around 31.2 or 33.2 cm. The larger size would perhaps be more in proportion with the comparatively large script and margins. The distance between columns is 2 cm. The traces in the upper part of fr. 2 i are too slight to determine which idyll precedes xviii. The back is blank.

The hand, which should probably be assigned to the latter half of the second century, bears a close resemblance to those of II 228; XXXVI 2749; XLIV 3156 and XLVII 3326 but cannot safely be identified with any of them. When discussing these last four hands in his introduction to 3326 M. W. Haslam distinguishes three scribes: one for 228; one for 2749 and 3156 and a third for 3326. In the Theocritus fragments the writing is bilinear with the exception of phi, but this extends only slightly beyond the notional horizontal lines; in 228, however, rho and phi have long descenders. The letters are more evenly spaced than in 228, 2749, and 3326 but less widely so than in 3156. Alpha is consistently angular in the present hand but only sporadically in 2749, 3156, and 3326. The direction and shape of the serifs seem to me to be the most decisive factor in distinguishing the five hands. Serifs on verticals in the Theocritus pieces point upwards to the left and on the left end of the cross-bars of tau downwards. In 3326 the former are more pronounced especially on rho while those on tau point upwards. On inspection of the originals I am not convinced that 2749 and 3156 are in fact by the same scribe. Although some foot serifs in 2749 project slightly to the right, they are diagonal and generally leftward-pointing and appear quite different in form from those of 3156, which are in nearly every case pronounced horizontal strokes projecting to left and right. Further, the obliques of kappa are separated from the vertical in 3156 but not in 2749. 3156 is altogether more mannered than any of the other examples. There is no punctuation visible in 3550 and only one lectional mark, a trema written by the original hand in xviii 42. All the four texts in comparable hands show much more punctuation and lectional marking but the rubbed surface of the present text may well be deceptive.

Fr. 1 coincides partly with XLI 2945, which was not available to Gow for his edition of Theocritus. The Antinoe Theocritus (A. S. Hunt and J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri*, 19 ff. = Gow's Pap. 3), though containing parts of xiv, does not overlap. Fr. 2 does, however, overlap the Antinoe Theocritus and 3552 (a part collation

of which appears in Gow i, p. 257). Of special interest are the readings at xiv 47 and xviii 37. In *Idyll* xiv, except in l. 46, the papyrus agrees with 2945; in *Idyll* xviii agreement is sometimes with Pap. 3, but as often not. The readings do not coincide consistently with any one family of MSS. Several of the variants are dialectal.

fr. 1

xiv 43	αινος θη[ εικατι τα[ι] δ[
45	καμερον εν[ εξ ω απ αλλ[ ος δε Λυκος[ε] ρ[
	αμες δ ορητ[ δυστανοι M[
50	κει μεν απ[ νυν δε ποθ[ χωπτι το φ[ ουκ οιδα π[ εκπλευσας[
55	πλευσουμα[ ουτε πρατο[ Foot

1 xiv 46 δ 2945 codd. plerique: οδ KW.

47 ος δε Λυκος[ε] ρ[ οδδε Λύκος KD Par. 2721: οιδε λυ[ 2945: τῆ δὲ Λύκος S Vat. Urb. 140 Coisl. gr. 169: ἄ(ῆ) δὲ Λύκω cett. (Pap. 3 in marg. λ(πει) ρ[ι]δεν): οἶδα v.l. in E<sup>1</sup> ad v. 46 (according to Ahrens): οἶ δέ Toup. The two specks from the bottom of ρ[ could also be part of the left bowl of ω with the right half of the letter in place of [ε], but to read ος δε Λυκω ρ[ would be nonsense and would place ω too close to ν. A difficult line, complicated further by the meaning and construction of the second half of 46, for which see Gow ii, note ad loc. As P. J. Parsons points out, to cut the hair and to leave it uncut both indicated grief (see A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* ii p. 19). Although the author of the marginal note in Pap. 3 (*διαβαλλονται οι Θρακ(ε) ως | εν βαθει κειροντ(αι)*) envisaged the former style, he does not explain its significance here. The new variant δε δέ, together with the attested οδδε and τῆ δέ, adds support to the conjecture of Toup (see Ioh. Rumpel, *Lexicon Theocriteum* s.v. οἶ and T. Kiessling, *Theocriti Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1819), ad loc.) that the correct reading is οἶ δέ. The rare use of the pronoun οἶ as a non-enclitic (for the emphatic use of pronouns see E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik* ii 186–7) would encourage the change to the article used as a personal pronoun τῆ, a *lectio facilior* of the same meaning: 'and to her Lycus is now everything'. Similarly οἶ could be corrupted into the relative ὅς used as a demonstrative, in apposition to Λύκος, 'and he, Lycus, is now everything (sc. to her)'. A simple change in aspiration and word-division would make οδδε, an early variant attested in 2945 in the second century and in the Antinoe Theocritus in the late fifth or early sixth. οδδε might also mistakenly have been thought to ease the construction of οἶδδ' εἰ Θρακιστὶ κέκαρμαι 'and if I'm barbered Thracian fashion she doesn't know it' (Gow). Without a governing verb οἶδδ' εἰ would mean 'not even', so that we have, 'It's two months

since we parted and I haven't had even a Thracian hair cut'. *Contra* Gow ad loc. this is not unparalleled as observed by Ahrens in his *editio minor* (1861), p. v; cf. e.g. Ar., *Wasps* 352 and W. J. M. Starkie and D. M. MacDowell in their editions of the play. For a comparable example of δὲ δέ, also at the beginning of a line, see *Idyll* xxvii 71 and for its use instead of ὁ δέ in the Hellenistic period and the NT see Blass-Debrunner-Funk §§249-51.

48 ἀμεις: so 2945: ἄμμες vulg.

49 δυστανος: so 2945 KTr: -τηροι cett.

52 χωπτι: χῶπι codd.

55 πλευσοῦμαι plerique: πλευσεῦμαι WTr

fr. 2 Top(?)

col. i col. ii

xviii 27 π[  
 ω[δε και α χρυσα Ελανα διεφαι]νετ εν αμμ[  
 πι[ειρα μεγαλα ατ ανεδραμ]ε [κοσμ]ος αρρ[  
 30 η κ[απω κυπαρισκος η] α[ρ]μα[τι Θεεσ]αλος ιπ[  
 ωδ[ε και α ροδοχρωσ Ε]λανα [Λακ]εδαμον[ι] κ[  
 ουτε τι[ε εκ ταλαρ]ω πα[νιδεται] εργα τοι[αυτ]  
 ουτ επι δα[ιδαλε]ω πυκι[νωτερον] ατρη[  
 ] .  
 ] .  
 ] .  
 35 ου μαν ουδε λυραν τις [επισταται] ωδε κροττη[  
 Αρτεμιν αιιδουσα κ[α]ι [ευρυς]τε[ρ]νον Αθα[ν]α[  
 ως Ελανα τας [παντες επ ο]μματος ιμ[  
 ω [κ]αλα φ χαρι[εσσα κορα τυ] μεν οικετι[ε] η[  
 αμε[ε δ ε]ς Δρομ[ον ηρι και ε]ς λειμωνια φυ[  
 40 ]ου[μεσ ε]ς τε[φανωσ δρε]ψουμεναι [αδ]υ π[  
 πολ[λα] τερως [Ε]λ[αν]α μεμναμεναι ω[  
 αργες χε[ι]να[μεν]ας οἶος μαστον [π]οθερι[  
 ]πραται τ[οι στεφα]νον λω[τ]ω χ[α]μα[  
 πλ[εξασαι κκιεραν κ]αταθησομες ες πλατα[  
 45 π[ραται δ αργυρεας εξ ολ]πιδ[ο]ς υγρον αλειφ[  
 ] . [ ] . [

(rubbed)

] . [

(rubbed)

(rubbed)

50

]ε[α] Κυπ[

]ας[

Col. i ] . , high, oblique ink; serif?

] . . , first, high part of downward pointing oblique; second, high ink.

] . , low ink.

Col. ii xviii 29 ο[ , high and low ink equally compatible with ω. ἀρούρα codd.: ἀρωραν Pap. 3 ante corr.

31 Ε]λανα: so pap. throughout: 'Ελένα Pap. 3 and codd. 3552 has Ελενα in 28 and 31, Ελανα in 37 and 41.

32-3 ουτε . . . ουτ: 3552 codd.: οὐδέ . . . οὐδ' Pap. 3.

33 επι: so Pap. 3 3552 D<sup>a</sup>: ἐνί codd.

34 -ας[α] μ[ better from point of view of spacing than -αι[ca] μ[. συμπλεξασα codd.: -αιca Pap. 3 ante corr., 3552.

35 ουδε λυραν: so 3552 Tr: ουδε λυρην Pap. 3: οὐ κιθάραν ASU.

36 αιιδουσα: so 3552: ἀειδοισα Pap. 3 codd.

[ευρυς]τε[ρ]νον Αθα[ν]α[ι]: so codd.: ευρηστερον Αθηναν Pap. 3.

37 ο]μματος: ὄμμασιν codd.: ομμασι Pap. 3: ὄμματι S Coisl. gr. 169 (Ahrens). An interesting variant; there is no difference in meaning here between ἐπί with the gen. and ἐπί with the dat. For this and the use of ὄμμα in the sing. see E. Fraenkel on A., *Ag.* 1428.

38 ω [κ]αλα φ χαρι[εσσα: so Pap. 3 ASU: ]ε κ. ω χ. 3552: ἄ κ. ἄ χ. Tr.

39 αμε[ε: so 3552 Pap. 3: ἄμμες TrS: ἄμμε AU.

40 ερψ]ου[μεσ: so Pap. 3 codd.: ἐρψεύμεσ Wilamowitz.

41 τερως: so 3552 Pap. 3 U Iunt.: τεού TrS: τεά A.

μεμναμεναι: so ASU: μεμνη- Pap. 3 Tr.

42 Either χε[ι]να[μεν]ας, as Pap. 3 codd. plerique, or γηνα[μεν]ας as 3552. Although only the tip of α[ is visible, it is too far to the right for the hasta of ν and probably too high for the top of ο of γενομένης, the reading of Tr.

43 πρατον ex -ται Pap. 3.

44 κ]αταθησομες, the reading of D<sup>a</sup>; the final letter is not ν of the vulg. -μεν.

46 Below ο of 45 top of vertical. Below φ high ink with low ink to the right.

47 Negligible traces of several letters; some offsets? So also in 49 and 50.

48 ] . [ , high ink with the top of a vertical slightly to the right; π of παριών?

51 ]ε[ , c or θ also possible.

π[ , feet of two verticals. If the first letter is ε, the fifth could then be ν, i.e. ]ε[ι]σον; traces of the preceding two letters are negligible. However, since the first letter is directly below the 19th or 21st letters of 42-5, ]ε[ of θέα, 19th letter, is preferable to ε of second Κύπρις, 26th letter.

### 3551. THEOCRITUS, *Idyll* xvii 94-105, xxviii 1-19

63 6B.64/B(1-3)a

7.1 × 10.1 cm

Third century

A fragment from a codex-leaf, with part of the straight edge of the page (to the right of the recto). The copyist used brown ink, and a coarse sloping script of the type of the Harris Homer (Turner, *GMAW* 14); he himself added most of the lectional signs on the verso; a second hand, using black ink, wrote the signs, correction, and marginalia on the recto. To judge from the cursive of the marginalia, the copy belongs to the third century rather than to the fourth.

The recto has lines from *Id.* xvii, the verso the title and beginning of xxviii. If recto preceded verso, and if xxviii followed direct on xvii, the page will have contained c. 43 lines, with a written height of c. 21 cm (so that the codex may have belonged to Turner's group 4, *Typology* 16, 24). If verso preceded recto, and xvii followed direct on xxviii, c. 121 lines are lost, which would imply a page in double column with c. 40 lines per column; on a very rough calculation, which is all that is possible, such a page would be

c. 32 cm broad × c. 24 cm tall; this would add to the rare examples of the oblong codex. The former possibility looks clearly more plausible.

→  
xvii 94 ] . . [ ]  
β]ασιλη[αc ]  
αφνε]ον έρχεται [οι]κον  
περικτελ]λουσιν εκα[λ]οι  
] υπερβας πολλα κηρα ε[χ]οντα  
εστασατ]ο κωμαιο  
100 ] ναοc  
Αιγ]υπτι[ησιν ]  
π]εδι[οισι ]  
]. [ ] παλαι  
παν]τα [φv]λασσειν  
105 αυ]τοc  
]  
]  
110 ]  
]  
]  
]  
]  
] . . . . . ]  
] . . . . . ]

xvii 97 εκα[λ]οι altered to εκη[λ]οι: εκηλοι codd.

98 υπερβας: so codd. omnes exc. A υπεμβας (Ahrens).

Marg. dextr. Gloss on πολυκήρα: cf. Schol. πολλά θηρία έχοντα.

100 ναοc (above alpha a sign which I do not understand, by the second hand, in the shape of a hasty rough breathing): so codd. omnes exc. K νηοc.

103 παλαι: πάλλειν codd. (πάλλεν Ahrens's Y).

104 [φv]λασσειν: so codd. plerique: -εν SY (Ahrens).

114? Marg. dextr. Only the comment remains, approximately on a level with l. 114. Possibly an intelligent explanation ο προι[ητης (ο[ι] προι[ηται seems excluded) on 115 Μουσαων υποφήται.

↓  
xxviii ] . . [ ]  
] [ ] ηλα[κατη  
1 Γλ[α]νκας ω φιλ' [  
γγαμξιν νό[οc  
θάρσει<sup>α</sup> άμμιν [  
όπηᾱi Κύπριδ[οc  
5 τυιδε γαρ πλό[ν  
όππω[ε ξει]νον ε[μον  
Νικια[ν Χα]ρίτω[ν  
καί σε [ταν ελ]εφ[αντοc  
δωρον Ν. [. . .] . α. [  
10 συν ται πολ[λα μ]ε[ν  
πο. . . . . [  
διε γαρ μ[ατερες  
πε. [  
]  
15 [  
]  
.. [  
.. [  
.. [  
]. . . . . ]

Verso. The traces at the top edge are too faint to determine whether this was or was not the last line of Id.

xvii.

xxviii Title. ] . . : the trace may be accidental.

ηλα[κατη: the title must have been longer, if it was centred on the text. Αλακάτα παιδικά αϊολικά (CD: om.

H) would have about the right length.

1 φιλ' [ (the elision mark by the second hand?) seems to imply φιλ' [εριθ': φιλέριθ' codd.

2 γγαμξιν: so codd. omnes exc. H -ξι (Ahrens).

3 θάρσει<sup>α</sup> (the suprascript alpha perhaps by another hand): θαρσει<sup>α</sup> D: -σει<sup>α</sup> CH: θερσει<sup>α</sup> C<sup>2</sup>.

5 τυιδε: coni. Hermann: τυ δέ codd.

6 όππω[ε: so CD: όπωc H.

9 Νικια[αc] (codd.) would suit the space and the minimal traces.

13 πε. [ : πέξαιντ' codd.: παιξεντ Pap. 3.



3552. THEOCRITUS, *Idyll* xviii 12-43

29 4B.44/J(3-5)a

11.10 x 21 cm

Second century

A large fragment of Theocritus' eighteenth *Idyll*, of which the significant readings were published by A. S. F. Gow as an addendum to vol. i of his edition, p. 257 (i) = Pack<sup>2</sup> 1494. It is from the upper part of a single column of a papyrus roll (not a codex as stated by Pack), which must have been of handsome size and appearance. The upper margin is 2.3 cm, the left-hand margin 1.3 cm. Nothing is written on the back.

A tiny fragment, reading either  $\begin{matrix} \text{]} \cdot [ \\ \text{]} \epsilon [ \end{matrix}$ , or if turned up the other way,  $\begin{matrix} \text{]} \theta [ \\ \text{]} \cdot [ \end{matrix}$  cannot be placed with certainty, but clearly belongs to the same roll.

The most interesting feature of the lay-out is a row of dots, in the same black ink as the text, placed in a vertical line beneath lines 14, 17, 27-8, 30-40, and 42. Each dot is placed level with, or slightly below, the feet of the letters, sometimes with a letter written partly over it. They are aligned in a straight line, 11 or 12 letters from the left-hand margin, but not perfectly at right-angles with the line of writing; they are, however, parallel with the beginnings of the lines, which demonstrate Maas's law. Those lines which do not apparently have a dot are broken or rubbed at the relevant part. Such guides for the horizontal spacing of the lines—for that is what they must be—are rare. Although the comparable practice of pricking is frequent on vellum, I know of only three other examples of guiding dots on papyrus. The matter is discussed by E. G. Turner in *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* 5-6, where he refers to a vertical series of dots in a roll of Apollonius Rhodius, PSI XV 1478. (I am very grateful to him for giving further information on this text.) There they are placed below every other line, about fourteen letters in from the beginning of the line. In XLVIII 3376, fragments of Herodotus i and ii, dots occur in some places above the first letter of a line, but are placed only at every fifth line; see fr. 11 ii 11 n. The third example, pointed out to me by W. E. H. Cockle, is XXXIX 2889 (pl. V), containing a substantial part of the left margin and parts of the first column of Aeschines Socraticus' dialogue, *Miltiades*. About 3 cm to the left of the writing is a vertical row of dots, one dot placed opposite the mid-point of each line of writing. If we had this text alone, we should visualize the scribe marking his dots before he began the first column and then using the lines of col. i to guide him, possibly by eye only, for col. ii and so on through the roll. However, the Herodotus, Apollonius Rhodius, and Theocritus texts show that a marked guide was sometimes used for the greater part of a roll. Whether the scribe 'cast up' a whole roll before he began or marked each successive column as he went along, we cannot be certain. The fact that in the present text the vertical guide is exactly parallel to the column edge, which is itself not perpendicular, might suggest the latter. Yet we have great numbers of texts that reveal no guide; although, when placed in mid-column, they are inconspicuous and may sometimes have escaped editors' notice. Regular use of ruling and pricking on vellum

does not indicate that it was confined to inexperienced scribes or to copies where a particularly calligraphic effect was required.

So the evidence for scribal methods on papyrus remains tantalizingly slim, but there is a possible literary reference to these guiding dots in one of the eight epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology* containing dedications of scribes' tools (see Turner, loc. cit. 6 and n. 1). *AP* VI 295. 3-4, as printed by A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 2980-1, describes a ruler in this way:

καὶ κελίδων κανόνισμα φιλόρθιον ἔργμα τε λεία  
καμοθέτω . . .

On this they comment, 'Ἐργμα will refer to the ruler, and the meaning be *fence* or *barrier* for the mark-making (*leaden*) weight, which in this style is no bad description of the lead disc which served for pencil.' It is true, as they point out, that the seven other epigrams all mention the disc of lead used for ruling and they consider it unlikely that the author of this epigram, Phantias, omitted it. Their acceptance, however, of Lobeck's division of the reading of P, ἔργματα λεία, involves two difficulties: firstly, λεία has to be taken as an alternative spelling of λαία, a stone used to weight threads in weaving; secondly, one has to assume that even without a qualifying adjective, λεία can be used of a lead weight. Hero, *Automatopoetica* 2. 6 does do this, but adds the crucial epithet, μολιβή.

The facsimile of P, p. 197 (ed. C. Preisendanz, Leiden, 1911) shows that ll. 3-4 read . . . ἔργματα λεία | καμοθέτω. Dübner, and Jacobs in his *editio maior* of 1813-17, quote P correctly, though suggesting emendations. *Contra* the apparatus of both Beckby and Gow and Page, there is no sign of the activities of the corrector C at this point; I can see nothing to indicate that an original ἔργμα has been altered to ἔργμα. No one seems to have suggested that the MS reading could be accepted without emendation and be divided and punctuated as follows:

καὶ κελίδων κανόνισμα φιλόρθιον, ἔργμα τε λεία  
καμοθέτω . . .

i.e. 'and the straight-loving ruler of columns, the barrier for the mark-setting of the point . . .'. This is much simpler. As Jacobs says, there is no need to alter the aspiration of ἔργμα, since Hesychius has ἔργμασι· κωλύμασι, περιφράγμασιν. If taken as a neuter substantive, the dative καμοθέτω can also be retained. But more significantly, ἡ τε λεία (στιγμῆ) is used by grammarians and scholiasts to describe the heaviest mark of punctuation, the full point, e.g. Σ Eur., *Hipp.* 1378; Dionysius Thrax 630. 6; Hermias Alexandrinus, in *Phaedrum*, p. 84A; and Anastasius Sinaita, *hexaemeron* 9 (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* iii 224. 32 = Migne, *PG* 89. 1002D). Surely this is an accurate description of the action of a scribe in placing a ruler vertically and marking against it a series of dots?

The hand is a fine, well-developed form of the so-called 'onciale romana', discussed by G. Cavallo in *ASNP*, ser. ii, 36 (1967) 209-20. It shows the typical features of the style: an upright stance, a marked bilinearity except for the verticals of phi, rounded epsilon, theta, omicron, and sigma, a deep-bowled mu, alpha with a horizontal cross-

bar, and the use of serifs on most horizontal and vertical strokes. It closely resembles XXIII 2354, P. Tebt. II 265, and P. Vindob. G. 19797 (= Cavallo, pls. 7, 9, and 10 respectively) and should probably be assigned to the first half or the middle of the second century AD. The only lectional sign visible is the trema in l. 20, added by the original scribe.

The text coincides with part of the Antioch Theocritus (A. S. Hunt and J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri* 19 ff. = Gow's Pap. 3) and also part of fr. 2 of 3550. Although calligraphically written, the text has been copied without much care. There is haplography in l. 20 and dittography in 39 and probably in 22; a wrong use of iota adscript in l. 29 and sporadic use elsewhere; and other errors in ll. 26, 30, 33, and 38. Line 25, however, confirms a conjecture of Ahrens. In general, as Gow concludes, we have 'a text about midway between those of Pap. 3 and of the MSS.'

Top

15 ]ν μαν σπυδ[  
 ]δ εαν ζυπ π[  
 ]ν ες βαθιν ρ[  
 ]εξ ετρερ[  
 ]ρ αγαθ[  
 ]περ ωλ[  
 ]θερις Κρον[  
 ]ανος τ[οι θυγατη]ρ υπο τα[  
 20 ]. Αχαι[αδων γαια]ν π[α]τηι[  
 ]η μεγα κ[α τι τεκοι]τ ει ματε[  
 ]ιμες γαρ [πα]σαι ζ[. ]υνομα[  
 ]ρειαμεγαις ανδριςτι π[  
 ]τετρακ[ις ε]ξηκ[ον]τα κορ[  
 25 ταν ουδ[ατ]ις αμ[ω]μος ε[  
 Αφς εντελλοις [κα]λ[ο]ν [  
 π[ο]τνια Νυξ ατ[ε] λευκον εα[  
 ωδε και α χρυσε[α Ε]λενα δια[  
 πειραι μεγαλαι [ατ] ανδραμ[  
 30 η κηπο κυπρις[ο]ς η αρματ[  
 ωδε και α ροδοχρωσ Ελενα [  
 ουτε τις [εκ] ταλαρω πανι[  
 ] επι δ[αι]δαλιω πυκιω[  
 ]κιδι συμπλεξαισα μ[

35 ]αν ουδε λυραν τις επ[  
 ]τεμιν αιιδουσα και ε[  
 ]ς Ελανα τας παντε[  
 ]ς καλα ω χαριε[ς]σα κ[  
 ]μες δ ες δε Δρομον η[  
 40 ]ρουμες στεφανως[  
 ]α τεου[ς] Ελανα μεμ[  
 ]γηναμεγας [οι]ος [  
 ]τ[ε]φα[

12 μαν Tr: μὲν Pap. 3 ASU.

σπυδ[: σπυδοντα Pap. 3 Tr: χρηζοντα ASU.

13 ζυπ: ζυμ Pap. 3.

17 The spacing of the letters is strange: rho seems to have been written unusually far to the right of epsilon and then omega very close to rho. The dot between epsilon and rho is the only one that the scribe seems deliberately to have avoided writing over.

20 ], high ink and the rightward-pointing serif at the foot suggest the vertical stance of iota rather than the right oblique of alpha. Moreover, since there is space for only one letter preceding ], the scribe must accidentally have omitted an alpha and written οι Αχαι[. οἶα Pap. 3 ASU: ἦδε Tr.

Αχαι[αδων: only the left half of the trema is visible. The size of the space suggests that the papyrus had Αχαι[αδων, the reading of Pap. 3 TrS<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup> rather than Αχαι[αδα of ASU.

π[α]τηι: πατη Pap. 3 D in marg.: πατει cett.

21 κ[α τι τεκοι]τ, Ahrens. The gap would probably also allow και τι as Pap. 3 Tr but not και τοι as AU or κέν τι as S.

ματε[: so Pap. 3 Winterton: μητ- codd.

22 ]ιμες: as Gow indicates, the presence of ι makes εἰμέε, the Doric first person plural of εἶναι, inevitable—a new reading of no particular worth.

αμες Pap. 3: ἄμμες codd.

γαρ: so ASU: δε Pap. 3: δ' αἰ Tr.

ς[. ]υνομα[: ς[ almost certain. Did the gap contain a second ς, by dittography? The scribe's eye might have jumped to -αις almost immediately below in 23.

23 ]ρειαμεγαις: so Pap. 3. Itacism.

π[: κ[ equally possible. παρ' codd.: κατ' Pap. 3.

24 What appears to be a high stop between ο and ρ[ must be accidental. There is no sign vertically above and below this of further line guides, which are in any case elsewhere placed at the feet of letters.

25 ταν ουδ[ατ]ις: the papyrus confirms Ahrens's conjecture, since there is no room for the codd.'s reading τάν ουδ' ἄν τις: τάν δ' ουτ' ἄτις Pap. 3.

26 εντελλοις: ἀντέλλοις Pap. 3 codd.

27 ατ[ε]: so Pap. 3 codd.: τό τε Kaibel.

28 χρυσε[α: so codd.: no space for Pap. 3's χρυσεια.

Ε]λενα: also in 31 but Ελανα in 37 and 41: 'Ελένα Pap. 3 codd.: Ελανα 3550.

δια[: after alpha, another apparent high stop, but see 24 n. διαφαίνετ' TrS: διεφ- Pap. 3 AU.

29 πειραι: so D<sup>2</sup>: πειρα cett.: πειρα in -ραι mut. Pap. 3.

μεγαλαι [ατ]: not μεγαλα α[τ] as Pap. 3 Tr: μεγάλη ἄτ' ASU: μεγάλη ἄτ' alii.

30 κηπο: l. κάψω. For the common change of ω(ι) to ο at the period of this papyrus see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* i 276.

κυπρις[ο]ς: an unattested form of the word but perhaps by some confusion with Κύπρις. The loss of alpha here does not make the line unmetrical but for such syncope see again Gignac i 307-9.

- 32 ουτε: so 3550 codd.: ουδε Pap. 3.  
 33 επι: so 3550 Pap. 3 D<sup>2</sup>: ἐνί codd.  
 δ[αι]δαλιω: in view of the phonological errors in 30, it is perhaps better to regard this as the change of ε to ι attested before back vowels for the period of copying (see Gignac i 249) rather than a Doric form in -ιου in the exemplar (cf. H. L. Ahrens, *De graecae linguae dialectis* ii 120-2).  
 34 συμπλεξαίσα: so Pap. 3 ante corr.: not συμπ[λ]εξαίσα as Gow, where he has obviously mistaken the guiding dots for ll. 33 and 34 for deleting dots above and below lambda; συμπλεξαίσα 3550 codd.  
 35 ουδε λυραν: so 3550 Tr: ουδε λυρην Pap. 3: οὐ κισθάραν ASU.  
 36 αειδουσα: so 3550: αείδουσα Pap. 3 codd.  
 37 Ελανα: see 28 n.  
 38 ]ς: presumably ως in error, since the preceding line begins thus. The exemplar must have had ω κ. ω χ. as 3550 Pap. 3 ASU: á κ. á χ. Tr.  
 39 There is room only for αμες as Pap. 3; not ἄμμες as TrS or ἄμμε AU.  
 δε: dittography again.  
 40 ]ρμμες: the high trace would suit either ο or ε but the attested reading of 3550, Pap. 3 and codd. is more probable than Wilamowitz's conjecture -ευμες.  
 41 τεου[ε]: so 3550 Pap. 3 U Iunt.: τεοῦ TrS: τεά A.  
 42 γηναμενας: γεναμενας Pap. 3 codd. plerique: the reading of 3550 is uncertain at this point: γενομενας Tr.

3553. VIRGIL, *Aeneid* i 615-21, 622-8

3 B.85/C(1-2)a

3.1 × 16.5 cm

Fifth century

This vellum codex was apparently written in four narrow columns, one Latin with adjacent Greek glossary and a second Latin with similar Greek glossary. The surviving fragment has the Latin text of 615-21 on the flesh side: the hair side, which carries the ruling below the line, has the Greek version of 622-8. No evidence of pricking survives. The ink is a brown metallic one.

The top margin is 2.4 cm high and the extant text allowing for the warping of the vellum occupies a height of 14.1 cm. Seven lines of Latin are missing at the foot of the flesh side which would occupy a height of 3.2 cm. If the missing lower margin was bigger than the upper by a proportion of 3:2 (E. G. Turner: *Typology of the Early Codex* (Pennsylvania, 1977) 25), then it will have been c. 3.6 cm high. This makes the height of the complete page c. 23.3 cm.

The width of the extant fragment is 3.1 cm. If the codex had contained only one column of Latin and one column of Greek per page, this would have occupied not less than 7.5 cm, including margins, and probably more. If we compare Turner's table of 'Parchment Codices classified by Dimensions' (*Typology* 26-30), no codex with a page width of 7.5-8.0 cm and a height of 23-4 cm is found, but if we consider a page width twice as great (15-16 cm), his class VII (Breadth 16 cm *Not square*) serves. Hence it is likely that the codex was written in two double columns. This is paralleled by PSI VII 756 and P. Fouad I 5, both Virgil texts with glossaries.

The flesh side is from the right-hand Latin column of a right-hand page (codicological recto), the hair side carries the left-hand Greek column of the succeeding verso. The flesh side contained eight hexameters of Latin text and so 614 hexameters of

*Aeneid* i will have preceded it. So 76.75 Latin columns of text came before. If the remaining quarter column was occupied by a book title and incipit (cf. 1099 verso 57-9, Seider, *Paläographie der lat. Papyri* II i pl. XXXII), 77 columns preceded. If hair side regularly faced hair side and flesh flesh, the Latin columns 1 and 2 will have been on the hair side of fol. 1, which was a recto, and the surviving fragment is from fol. 20. If the codex was arranged in quaternions, 3553 would have been from the fourth leaf of the third quire, but this cannot be confirmed in the absence of quire signatures.

C. R. Gregory has observed that parchment manuscripts written in the east show the flesh side on the outside (i.e. initial right-hand page) of a gathering, and on its final left-hand page and at the centre opening (Turner, *Typology* 56, Gregory, *Comptes rendus Ac. Insc.* (1885) 13, 261 ff., *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1907) 324). On the other hand, manuscripts written in the Latin west usually have the hair side on the outside right-hand page. So there is a strong likelihood that 3553, though found in Oxyrhynchus, may not have been written in Egypt, as Latin cols. i and ii will have been on the hair side of fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

In the Latin there is ekthesis of one letter's space at the beginning of each hexameter and its initial letter is enlarged. This phenomenon is paralleled in P. Colt II 1, also a Virgil text with Greek glossary. The Latin hand closely resembles the early Byzantine Roman uncial of 1099 of the fifth century (Seider, *Paläographie d. lat. Papyri* II i pl. XXXII, CLA 2<sup>2</sup>, 137), while the Greek may be compared to the Biblical uncial of P. Berol. 5011 recto, also of the fifth century (= BKT VIII 15; G. Cavallo: *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* tav. 44). The Latin is of interest for the origins of the Carolingian minuscule.

The Latin letters are usually 2 mm high with B, D, and L rising above this level. Q and P descend below it. D is round in the δ-shaped form first found in the *De Bellis Macedonicis* (30) discussed by J. Mallon in *Paléographie romaine* 77 ff. There is a false accent on *péric[ula]* in l. 3, a correct one on *quae* in l. 6, a long sign on *aenēas* in l. 10 and an incorrect one on *uēnus* in l. 13. *Atq'* is contracted in l. 18. In l. 12, 3553 has *an`c`hissē* where the manuscripts have *Anchisae*. There is a middle stop in l. 6, but no other punctuation.

The Greek text on the hair side is written by the same scribe. The letters are 2 mm high. P and Y project below the line.

The Latin text is continuous, all words being glossed. For the flesh side the Greek text is missing, but can be partly restored from P. Colt II 1, vi and vii recto ('Auja-el-Hafir, s. vi) and P. Berol. 21138 A-B (? Arsinoite nome, late s. iv) = P. XV Congr. 3 fol. 26<sup>r-v</sup>.

Flesh side (fol. 20<sup>r</sup>)

	<i>Quiſ tē n[ate dea,</i>	615
	<i>per tē[nta</i>	
	<i>pēric[ula</i>	
	<i>casus[</i>	
5	<i>I]nsequi[tur?</i>	616
	<i>quāe uis[</i>	
	<i>immani[us</i>	
	<i>ap[pl]i[cat] oris?</i>	
	<i>T]u[m]e]ille[</i>	617
10	<i>aenēas[</i>	
	<i>quem da[rdanio</i>	
	<i>an`c`h[issē[</i>	
	<i>Alma uēn[us</i>	618
	<i>frygi[</i>	
15	<i>genuit[</i>	
	<i>simoen[tis</i>	
	<i>ad unda[m]?</i>	
	<i>Atq` equi[dem</i>	619
	<i>teucru[m]</i>	
20	<i>memin[i</i>	
	<i>sidona[</i>	
	<i>uenire[</i>	
	<i>Finibus[</i>	620
	<i>expulsu[m]</i>	
25	<i>patriae[</i>	
	<i>nou[ra regna</i>	
	<i>pe[tentem</i>	
	<i>Aux[ilio</i>	621
	<i>h[eli</i>	
	(desunt vii ll.)	

Hair side (fol. 20<sup>v</sup>)

	<i>[tenebat</i>	<i>εκρατε]ιτο</i>	
	<i>[Tempore iam</i>	<i>χρονου α]πο</i>	623
	<i>[ex illo</i>	<i>ηδη εκει]νου</i>	
40	<i>[casus mihi</i>	<i>κυμφ]ορα εμ[οι</i>	
(5)	<i>[cognitus</i>	<i>γν]ωθιςα</i>	
	<i>[urbis</i>	<i>της ]πολεως</i>	
	<i>[Troianae</i>	<i>τρο]ιςα</i>	624
	<i>[nomenque</i>	<i>κ]αι ο[νο]μα</i>	
45	<i>[tuum</i>	<i>το ]σον</i>	
(10)	<i>[regesque</i>	<i>και ]βαςι]λεις</i>	
	<i>[pelasgi</i>	<i>οι π]ελαςχοι</i>	
	<i>[Ipse hostis</i>	<i>αυτος ]πολεμιος</i>	625
	<i>[teucros</i>	<i>τους τρ]ωας</i>	
50	<i>[insigni</i>	<i>επις]ημωι</i>	
(15)	<i>[laude</i>	<i>επα]νωι</i>	
	<i>[ferebat</i>	<i>ελε]γεν</i>	
	<i>[Seque ortum</i>	<i>αυτος κ]αί γεννηθει]ς</i>	626
	<i>[antiqua</i>	<i>αρχαι]ας</i>	
55	<i>[teucrorum</i>	<i>των ]τρωνων</i>	
(20)	<i>[a stirpe</i>	<i>απο ρι]ζης</i>	
	<i>[uolebat</i>	<i>εβο]υλετο</i>	
	<i>[Quare agite</i>	<i>] . . πραξ]ατε</i>	627
	<i>[o tectis</i>	<i>ω στ]εγαις</i>	
60	<i>[iuvenes</i>	<i>νεα]νιαι</i>	
(25)	<i>[succedite</i>	<i>ε]ιςελθατε</i>	
	<i>[nostris</i>	<i>ημετερα]ις</i>	
	<i>[Me quoque</i>	<i>ομοιως ]εμ[ε</i>	628
	<i>[per multos</i>	<i>] . .</i>	
65	<i>[similis</i>	<i>] .</i>	
	(desunt vii ll.)		

- Flesh side. 1 Cf. P. Colt II 1, 172-3 τ[ι]c| υεθ θεα[c].  
 2 Cf. P. Colt II 1, 174 δια τοσ. [  
 3 False accent on *pêriç[ula]*.  
 9 Cf. P. XV Congr. 3, 275 [ε]κ[ε]νωσ.  
 11 Cf. P. XV Congr. 3, 276 [σ]ν τω[ι].  
 12 *an' c' h'issē*: G is added above the line in a black ink.  
*Anchisae* codd.: *anchife* Codex Gudianus fol. 70. Cf. P. XV Congr. 3, 277 αγ|χικ[η]. For the gemination of s in early manuscripts of Plautus and Virgil see W. M. Lindsay: *The Latin Language* 112.  
 13 False longum on *uēnu[s]*. Cf. P. XV Congr. 3, 278 η σεμ[ν]η αφροδιτη.  
 14 *frugiū: frigiū* Codex Gudianus fol. 70, Codex Bernensis 165: *f]rugii* P. XV Congr. 3.  
 As early as the fourth century *f* came to be the standard pronunciation of φ (W. M. Lindsay: *The Latin Language* 58), e.g. *Foenissa* in P. Cair. 85644 b recto, 224 (s. iv) = *Aeneid* i 714, in a similar text plus glossary.  
 P. XV Congr. 3, 279 has τ[ο]υ φ[υ]γιου.  
 15 Cf. P. XV Congr. 3, 280 εγ[ε]ν[ν]η[ε]ν[ε].  
 17 Cf. P. Colt II 1, 176 υδατα.  
 18 Cf. P. Colt II 1, 177 κ[α] μ[ε]ν ο[υ]ν[ν].  
 19 Cf. P. Colt II 1, 178 τε[ε]ν[ν]κρογ. [  
 25 *patriæ: patriis* codd. med. with the variant *Patris* in the corrector of Vat. Pal. Lat. 1631 (s. iv-v). There is no doubt about the reading; *i* is the only letter of which the great part is missing.  
 At the foot of the column are missing: *genitor | tum Belus | opimam | (622) uastabat | Cyprum | et uictor | dicione*.  
 Hair side. 37 Cf. G. Goetz: *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* ii 354, 52 κρατω *leneo* and iii 76, 8; 148, 55. The Greek version ends in omicron and therefore an imperfect middle is required.  
 38-9 Cf. *CGL* ii 478, 56 χρονος *tempus*, ii 323, 26 ηδη *iam*, ii 77, 4 *Ille* *εκεινωσ*.  
 40 Cf. *CGL* ii *Casus συντυχία: πτωσεις. || συμφορα*.  
 41 *L. γνωθεισα*.  
 44 Cf. *CGL* ii 384, 18 ονομα *nomen uocabulum*.  
 48 *πολεμος*: Of pi the right hand vertical and end of the cross bar survive. There is a diagonal stroke through the vertical rising to the right. Lambda is unclear and probably altered from hypsilon. Of epsilon and mu there are damaged traces of feet. Cf. *CGL* ii 69, 31 *Hostis* *πολεμος*.  
 49 Cf. P. Ryl. iii 478 Fr. (a) recto 31 *Τεμεροτων Τρωων* (= *Aeneid* i 248).  
 50 Cf. *CGL* ii 87, 14 *Insignis* *επισημος: εξοχος*.  
 51 Cf. *CGL* ii 496, 1 *Laus* *επαινωσ*.  
 52 Cf. *CGL* ii 359, 7 *Λεγω* *dico: for memoro: aio: sero (fero a)*.  
 53 Cf. *CGL* ii 262, 35 *Γεννηθεισ* *natusgenitusprogenitusortus*.  
 54 Cf. *CGL* ii 20, 56; 21, 6 *Antiquus* *αρχαιωσ*.  
 Possibly *παλαι[α]σ* stood here, but the equivalence with *antiquus* is not found in *CGL*.  
 55 See on 49 above.  
 56 Cf. *CGL* ii 22, 17 *Astirpe* *αποριζησ*.  
 57 Cf. *CGL* ii 211, 22 *Volo* *βουλομαι θελω*.  
 58 ff. are paralleled by P. XV Congr. 3 fol. 26<sup>v</sup> in the Latin only.  
 58 ] . . The vellum is rubbed and worn through. None of the Greek glosses cited below can be confirmed.  
 Cf. *CGL* ii 166, 38 *Quare* *διᾶτιν διῶτι; 278, 23 Διοπερ ἰδοουε ἰδῆιρω προινδᾶ προ||ιν. propterquodquare quocir||ca quiniqitur; 278, 24 Διοπραγμα quarequamobrem*.  
*πραξ[α]τε*: For ξ possibly τ can be read. So *πρατ[α]τε* is possible. Cf. *CGL* iii 3, 48 *πραξαιται agile*; 399, 62 *agile praxate*.  
 59 Cf. *CGL* ii 436, 60 *Στεγη* *hooctectum*.  
 60 Cf. *CGL* ii 375, 22 *Νεανιασ* *iuuenis adulescens*; iii 328, 63 *νεανιασ* *iuuenis*.  
 61 Cf. *CGL* ii 191, 36 *Succedo* *εισερχομε: διαδεχομε*.  
 63 Cf. *CGL* ii 383, 22 *Ομοιωσ* *pariteritem itidem simi||liter eque quoque*.

3554. VIRGIL, *Aeneid* xi 371-2

21 3B.24/F(4)a+K(1-3)b

c. 36.3 × 30.5 cm

Second half of first century

A writing exercise on two lines of Virgil. The text runs parallel with the fibres of the papyrus; top margin c. 108 mm, left margin 31 mm. The other side contains 3587, a Greek register, also written parallel with the fibres. There is no evidence of a kollesis on either side.

This piece has been published and the script discussed in *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979) 55-75. I reprint the text, and add some further notes on the letter-forms.

SC[ILICETVTTVRNOCO]NTINGATREGIACONIVNXNOSANIMAE[  
 SCILICETVTT[VRNOCO]NTINGATR. [GI]. [C]ONIVNXN. . . NIMAE[  
 SCILICETV[TT]VR[NOCO]NTINGATREGIACONIVNXNOSANIMAE[  
 SCILII[CETVTTVRNOCO]NTINGATREGIA[C]. . [I]VN[XN]. SANIM[ae  
 5 SCILII[CETVTTVRNOCONTINGATR]. [GIACONI]. [NXNO]. AN[imae  
 S[CILICETVTTVRNOCONTINGATREGIACONIVN]. [

Loose fragments above l. 1, which are possibly reworkings like those between ll. 1 and 2.

- (1) Above NT of CO]NTINGAT of l. 1. E]TVT[VRNO  
 (2) Above G of REGIA of l. 1. ]A[  
 (3) Above REGIA CONIVNX of l. 1. ]IACONI[<sup>1</sup>

The letter forms are discussed in detail in the original publication. The only new Latin text which has appeared since then whose palaeography is relevant to 3554 is the elegiacs by Gallus from Qaṣr Ibrīm published by R. D. Anderson, P. J. Parsons, and R. G. M. Nisbet in *JRS* 69 (1979) 125-55. The archaeological context in which the Gallus was found suggests the copy was made between 50 and 20 BC.

In his *JRS* article Mr Parsons has given a detailed description of the hand of the Gallus. To this a number of observations need to be added. The most important is that it was written with a broad nibbed pen whose end was not square, but with a left-oblique cut. This type of pen Edward Johnston classified as an 'Eastern Pen', since he found it used most frequently in Hebrew and oriental scripts (*Formal Penmanship and other papers* (London, 1971) 71-2, 78). I have tried copying the Gallus with a variety of straight and oblique cut nibs. Only with a left-oblique cut nib can all the letters be written consistently with the same grasp of the pen. The angle of the pen-shaft to the horizontal line of writing is about 30° and the angle of the oblique cut of the nib to its shaft is about 70°. The nib width of the Gallus judged by the broadest strokes is 0.75 mm. The overall ratio of nib width to height of letter is 1:4 in the Gallus. This falls within Johnston's classification of 'Medium Writing' (*Formal Penmanship* 89). The Medium weight of the writing of the Gallus and PSI 1183a places them together, compared with the 'Light Writing' of 3554 and Hawara Papyrus 24 (cf. *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979), 63-4 n. 21). The finest strokes in the Gallus are in the vertical of F and the left-hand strokes of A and M.

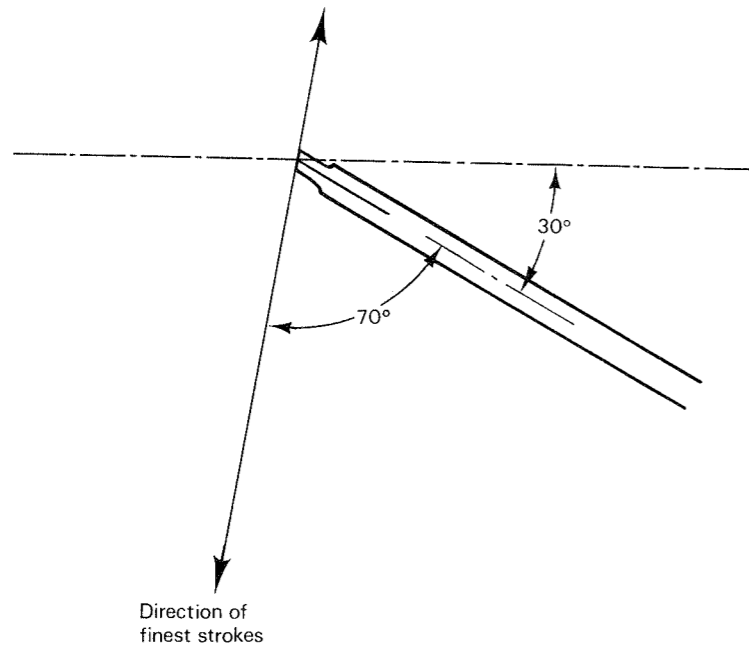
S The final S of TVEIS in Gallus l. 5 most resembles 3554 in its third stroke rising to the right, but in most examples in the Gallus this stroke is short and turns downwards, being more akin to PSI 1183a.

C in the Gallus generally has rounded second stroke, not thin and rising to the right like 3554.

I The trailing foot rises in 3554, but is horizontal in the Gallus.

L closely resembles 3554 with its second stroke horizontal.

<sup>1</sup> All tops of letters, and possibly all wrongly identified. The spacing of the letters is closer than in the text lines.



E In MVSAE (Gallus l. 6) the second stroke descends to the right like 3554, but elsewhere the second, third, and fourth strokes are horizontal.

T In the Gallus l. 4 *TEMPLA* confirms M. Mallon's description of the order of the strokes (*Paléographie romaine* (Madrid, 1952) 29, §34), as the cross-bar runs below the top of the vertical, which has already been written. The form of the Gallus is closer to that of PSI 1183a than to 3554.

N In the Gallus l. 7 *DIGNA* the lower right hand is above the base line of the writing, though elsewhere the verticals are on the same base line. In 3554 the left-hand vertical tends to project below the base line.

G In the Gallus the third stroke (top) is thick and curves down to the right whereas that of 3554 is slender and rises.

A The Gallus form is closer to that on Trajan's Column with the cross-bar (stroke 3) horizontal or descending slightly to the left. In 3554 the cross-bar is short, descending to the left and is attached only to the right-hand upright.

R The Gallus form has a heavy foot on the first stroke and like PSI 1183a a distinct second stroke whose loop is written small. In 3554 the right-hand side of R is written in a single movement.

O The apex is drawn slightly left of centre in the Gallus like PSI 1183a or central, unlike 3554 and Hawara 24, whose apices are right of centre.

V The Gallus has every form from V to U with a left-hand serif at the top of both limbs. In 3554 the serif on the top of the right-hand limb is centred, whereas in PSI 1183a this limb has a right-hand serif.

X The Gallus X is unusual in that the stroke from top right to bottom left is written downwards. The form of the integral serifs makes this clear in *MAXIMA* (l. 3). Without direct examination of the original rather than a photograph I cannot be absolutely certain whether the stroke from top left to bottom right was written first or second. I am inclined to think the latter. If so, we have a further variation on the form top left to bottom right written first, then bottom left to top right written second described by M. Mallon (*Paléographie romaine* 29 and 129). The X of 3554 is written in the same direction, but the reverse order to M. Mallon's description.

M The Gallus M is available in enlarged form in *MAXIMA* at the beginning of l. 3 as well as at the standard size. The first and fourth strokes are more upright than in 3554 or even in PSI 1183a. The Virgil M is broader in relation to its height than that of the Gallus.

(Y) in the Gallus has the same ductus as P. Vindob. Lat. 1 b, CIL VI 33470 and Hawara 24. This has a first stroke descending from high left to centre. The second stroke descends from the high right to the base line. In contrast as M. Mallon shows (*Paléographie romaine* p. 29 §37) PSI 1183a has the first stroke descending from high left to the base line; the second stroke rises from the centre to high right.

## IV. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

### 3555. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS

21 3B.29/E(5-6)a

9.5 × 32.5 cm

First/second century

This is an interesting and touching petition about a road accident to a young slave girl, who was on her way to a music lesson when she was knocked down and sustained an ugly injury to her right hand. It is written in a clear upright semi-cursive, which Sir Eric Turner dates to the middle of the first century AD. The script resembles that of P. Ups. Frid 1, a document of AD 48, and that of PSI X 1176, a piece of New Comedy from the first century AD. Vitelli shows (op. cit., p. 148) that the latter text was copied before the autumn of AD 60.

The name of the strategus is oddly abbreviated to *Ἀσκληπε*( ), and he has not been securely identified, though strategi with suitable names can be found between about AD 60 and AD 130, see 1 n.

The writer attempted a very ambitious sentence structure with numerous subordinate clauses and accusative and genitive absolutes, but the result in the end is not entirely coherent. It may be that this was the fault of the clerk in failing to match the fair copy to the draft.

The word *ᾠδῆς*, 'singing', is new, as is the female name *Εὐχάριον*.

There is a recto kollesis 1.4-2.1 cm from the right-hand edge of the piece. The back is blank.

The formulae of such documents have been studied by J. L. White, *The Form and Structure of the Official Petition* (Missoula, 1972).

— [[Κλαυδίω]] Ἀσκληπε( ) στρατηγῶ  
 παρὰ Θερμουθίου τῆς Πλουτάρχου)  
 τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.  
 θεραπευίδιον μου οἰκογενέ[ς],  
 5 οὐ ἔστιν ὄνομα Πείνα, ἡγάπη-  
 σα καὶ ἔτημέλησα ὡς θυγάτριον(ν)  
 ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἡλικίας γενόμε-  
 νον ἔχειν με γηροβοσκόν,  
 γυναῖκα ἀβοήθητον οὔσαν  
 10 καὶ μόνην. τοῦτο δὲ διάγων  
 τὴν πόλιν τῇ ἰθ' τοῦ διελθόν-  
 τος μηνὸς πρὸς μάθησιν

1 ασκληπε

2 πλουταρ

6 θυγατρ

10 1. διάγων

ᾠδῆσεώς τε καὶ ἄλλων, παι-  
 δαγωγούσης αὐτὴν Εὐχαρίου  
 15 τινὸς ἀπελευθέρας Λογγεῖνου,  
 ἣτις ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἐκ  
 τῆς οἰκίας μου ἀφείξεω  
 εἰσεκόμισεν τὴν Πείναν  
 ἔχουσαν δεδεμένην τὴν  
 20 δεξιὰν χεῖρα, καὶ πυθομένη  
 παρ' αὐτῆς τὸ αἴτιον ἀπήγ-  
 γειλέν μοι ὑπό τινος παιδαρίου(ν)  
 Πολυδεύκου ἀκολουθοῦντος  
 ὄνω καταβεβλήσθαι ταύτην,  
 25 ὡς ἐκ τούτου ὄλην αὐτῆς  
 τὴν χεῖρα συντετρεῖφθαι  
 καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη λελω-  
 βῆσθαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀχανῆ εἶναι.  
 καὶ τότε μὴ ἔχουσα τὸν προ-  
 30 ιστατόμενον τῆς στρατηγί(ας) <οὔ?>  
 κατεχώρισα ἀναφόριον περὶ  
 τούτου, οἰομένη παροδικὸν  
 εἶναι τὸ ἔλκος, ἀνίατον δὲ  
 ὄν καὶ μὴ φέρουσα τὴν περὶ  
 35 τῆς θεραπαίνης ὀδύνην, τῶ  
 αὐτὴν μὲν κινδυνεύειν τῶ  
 ζῆν, ἐμὲ δὲ δυσθυμία τοῦ  
 ζῆν περιεχομένην—ὅπερ ἐκ  
 τῶν φανερῶν καὶ εὐποψόμενος'  
 40 ἀγανακτήσεις—ἀναγκαίως  
 οὐκ καταπεφευγυῖα ἐπὶ σὲ  
 τὸν ἀντιλήμπτορα ἀξιώ[ς] βοη-  
 θῆναι καὶ τυχεῖν τῆς ἀπὸ  
 ε]οῦ . . . [ . . ] . [

17 1. ἀφίξεω

22 παιδαρ

26 1. συντετρεῖφθαι

30 στρατηγί<sup>1</sup>

38 εκ corr. from ακ

'To Asclepe( ) strategus, from Thermuthion daughter of Plutarchus from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. I loved and cared for a little maidservant of mine, a slave by birth, whose name is Peina, as a little daughter, in the hope that when she came of age I should have her to tend my old age, for I am a woman helpless and alone. She was crossing the city on the 19th of last month to learn singing and other skills, and a certain Eucharion, freedwoman of Longinus, was accompanying her, who at the moment of their departure from my house brought in Peina with her right hand bound up, and when I asked her the cause, she told me that this girl had been knocked down by a certain slave, Polydeuces, who was driving a donkey, so that as a result of this her whole hand has been crushed and the most of it mutilated and the rest is gaping open. And at that time as I did not have a person in charge of the strategiate (sc. to appeal to), I did not(?) file a petition about this, thinking that the injury was a passing one, but since it is incurable and I cannot bear (my?) distress about the maidservant, because she on the one hand is in danger of her life and I on the other am beset with despair of her life—when you see it with your own eyes you too will be upset—necessarily, then, I have fled to you as my protector and request to be aided and to receive beneficence(?) from you . . .'

1 — [Κλαυδίω] Ἀσκληπε( ). The significance of the dash in the margin is unknown. The Latin *nomen* has been washed out but remains legible. From passages below it appears that the post of strategus had been vacant on the 19th of the preceding month (11–12, 29–30). The fact that the strategus was newly appointed may have caused the doubt about his name.

The form of the abbreviation causes doubt too. There are no known names beginning Ἀσκληπε-, so we must assume that Ἀσκληπε(ι) = Ἀσκληπε- was intended, although it seems odd to abbreviate at a point which cuts into the diphthong. If the strategus is one already known to us, the possible candidates are Ti. Claudius Asclepiades (AD 60–2, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 170), Julius Asclepinus (c. AD 90–100?, PSI XV *sine numero*, ed. A. Bartoletti-Colombo, item 2), and the Asclepiades of c. AD 128–31 (Whitehorne, op. cit. 173). Aurelius Asclepiades, deputy strategus c. AD 292 (Whitehorne, op. cit. 183) is clearly too late to suit the handwriting of this papyrus.

2 Θερμοουθίου. Thermuthion is a theophoric name from Thermuthis, in Egyptian Renenutet, the goddess of fertile lands and granaries, a form of Isis portrayed with a snake's head rising from a female body (H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* i 365, 2; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (1952) 803–5).

4 οἰκογενέ[ς]. On slaves by birth see I. Biezuńska-Małowist, *L'Esclavage* ii 19–21, 43–9.

5 Πείνα. Professor H. S. Smith suggests that this is related to the Egyptian name Πινρην (Ranke, op. cit. 133, 6) and, deriving from a female form Τπεινα, means 'female mouse', cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptuunculae* ii 1039. The Egyptian feminine names in Ranke 133, 22 *pn*, 133, 2 *pnj* may be equivalent to Πίνα, Πείνα. Alternatively, πῖνα in Greek means 'pearl', cf. P. Osl. II 46, 15 n., and this may be a satisfactory origin for a slave name, cf. Latin *Unio*, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 218 and n. 4. The name Πείνα has appeared before only in a census return of 188 as that of a young slave girl, i.e. VIII 1110 18 ]εγναροῦς ἢ καὶ Πείνα, (ἐτῶν) ιβ'. The following word, presented in ed. pr. as Ἰδιος, [ and taken as a name in the note, is probably ἰδιόκτητος, 'brought by me personally', in contrast with the preceding slaves, who are ζώματα ἐμοῦ τοῦ Διοσκοουρίδου κατηγορηκότα μοι (12), 'slaves of me, Dioscurides, who have descended to me . . .', sc. 'by inheritance'. Her alias might well have been Π]εγναροῦς, cf. πινάριον, a diminutive of πῖνα.

7–8 For ἡλικίας γενέσθαι, 'to come of age', cf. e.g. III 496 12.

8 γηροβοσκόν. This is new in the papyri, but known as a substantive in Xenophon, *Oec.* 7, 12.

13 φδέησεω. The unadorned φδέησις is new, though Buck-Petersen, *Reverse Index*, 580 col. i, lists μελώδησις, κιθαρώδησις, παρώδησις, and ἀντιπαρώδησις.

14 Εὐχάριον. The neuter female name is new, though the masculine forms Εὐχάριος and Εὐχάρης, feminine Εὐχαρία and common-gender Εὐχαρίς are known from papyri or inscriptions.

15 Λογγεῖνον. The name Longinus in Egypt is most common among soldiers and veterans.

17 ἀφείξεω = ἀφίξεω. The preceding phrase, ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μου, clearly shows that the meaning is 'departure', as in NT Acts 20: 29 and Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 2, 18. See Moulton, *Grammar of NT Greek* i, 261 and Arndt-Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* s.v. Presumably the meaning is that the accident took place just as the girl and her attendant left the house or very shortly after.

20 It may be wrong to interpret πυθομένη as a dative agreeing with μοι (22) rather than as a nominative, cf. A. N. Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar*, §2144, quoting Plato, *Apol.* 21c, καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ μοι ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶναι σοφός.

22–3 Perhaps 'slave of Polydeuces' is the meaning, rather than 'slave (named) Polydeuces'. Although the

words say that the girl was knocked down by the donkey driver, it seems far easier to believe that she got in the way of the donkey, which may have trodden on her hand to produce such an injury. (Compare *SEG* 15, 765 (most recently in P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Parion*, 37–41, No. 52), inscriptions on the sarcophagus of a boy of six killed in the street by a horse.) The liability for reparations had, of course, to be attributed to the driver or his master, which would be sufficient reason for choosing this form of words.

23–4 In P. Lond. I 131 recto 29–30, 34–5 (p. 171), an account of AD 78/9, payments to ἀκολουθ(οῦσι) . . . ὄνοις are kept distinct from payments to the ὀνηλάτης. The distinction is one of status. The ὀνηλάτης is the proprietor of three donkeys, while the ἀκολουθοῦντες are παιδάρια like the one here.

28 ἀχανή. The application of the adjective to 'gaping' wounds is new.

29–31 From καὶ το στρατηγί(α)ς is clear enough, meaning that the office of the strategus was without an incumbent on the 19th of the preceding month, cf. 11–12 with 1 n. The simplest way of understanding what follows is to supply a negative, οὐ, with κατεχώρισα, in which case she decided to make no petition while she thought the injury was curable and while there was no strategus in office. If this is not correct, she had filed an earlier petition with some unspecified official, possibly the royal scribe as acting strategus, and then filed this second one with the new strategus setting out the unexpectedly serious state of the girl's injury. The wording makes it seem far more likely that the clerk omitted a negative while making a fair copy of the draft.

34–5 μὴ φέρουσα τὴν περὶ τῆς θεραπεύνης ὀδύνην, 'since I cannot endure (my?) distress about the maidservant'. It may be that the clerk should have written either τὴν περὶ τὴν θεραπεύσαν ὀδύνην or τὴν τῆς θεραπεύνης ὀδύνην, 'the distress of the maidservant'.

38 περιεχομένην. Compare Menander, *Epitrepontes* 506 S and Sandbach's note, 'We can only guess at the meaning of περιέχεται; *LSJ* gives "was hard pressed", Capps "embarrassed", presumably in a financial sense. Perhaps rather "was held to the bargain, caught by it without a way out", like the inhabitants of a beleaguered city or military force surrounded by the enemy (Hdt. viii. 80. 2).' Here perhaps 'beset' will cover what we deduce to be the meaning.

40 ἀνακατήσει. The gamma has been written to the left of a tau written in error. The resulting form appears like pi.

41 If we were to strike out the οὐν we might find it possible to accept the long sentence from the beginning of l. 29 to the end as tolerable documentary Greek. Again there may have been some discrepancy between the draft and the fair copy.

44 The remains are perhaps compatible with ἐψέ[ρ]υ]ε[σία], for which cf. P. Amh. II 77, 33.

### 3556. NOTICE TO AN AGORANOMUS

City of Bristol Museum  
Inv. BRSMG: H 3684

6 × 14.5 cm

c. 100

A publication in the form of a short description of this document was given in I 175. I am grateful to the authorities of the City of Bristol Museum, to which it now belongs, for supplying a photograph and for their permission to give a full text here.

The particular point which makes it desirable to have a full text in this volume is the information, not previously known, that the village of Senepsay was in the Western toparchy (14–15). This links 3556 with 3589, which shows that an *epoecium* well known to belong to the Eastern toparchy was close to Senepsay. It follows that the Eastern and Western toparchies adjoined and were not separated by the Middle toparchy, see 3589 2–4 n.

The document belongs to a group of notices submitted to the college of agoranomi at Oxyrhynchus in the last quarter of the first century AD. The group is discussed most recently in H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 200–1, where references to the earlier literature are given. A convenient chronological list of the papyri, thirty-eight in all, is given by M. Raschke in *BASP* 13 (1976) 18, associated with a full



publication of I 170. Raschke (p. 19) distinguishes three classes within the group: (1) from officials concerned with the registers of catoecic land, (2) from unknown officials dealing with the emancipation of slaves, and (3) from unknown officials who instruct the agoranomi to note in one of two different ways transfers of the liens on property. Most of the literature concerns the last class, in which the terms *ἀναγράφειν* and *καταγράφειν* are still controversial in meaning, but 3556 belongs to the first. Wolff, *op. cit.* 201, has suggested that this class takes a different form because the category of catoecic land had its own specialized records and was exempt from the obligation to be registered through the agoranomi. Therefore changes of ownership or liens on such property were, simply for information, notified to the agoranomi, who however were not responsible for the maintenance of its specialized records.

To Wolff's bibliography add now L. C. Youtie, 'Notes on Texts Pertaining to Catoecic Registry' in *ZPE* 40 (1980) 78-80, A. Martin, *CE* 56 (1981) 299-303, a full edition of II 331, and H. J. Wolff, 'Bemerkung zur Katagraphefrage', *CE* 57 (1982) 136-7.

(m. 2) . . . ( ) . . . ( )

(m. 1) Φανίας καὶ Διογένης ὁ καὶ

Ἐρμαῖος οἱ ἀσχολούμενοι

τοὺς καταλοχιμοὺς τῶι

5 ἀγορανόμῳ χαίρειν. Τετρεῖ-

τος τῆς Θεώνιος τοῦ Θεώνιος

μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ὀννώ(φριος)

τοῦ Ὀννώφριος παρακεχωρη(μένης)

παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ

10 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου(υ)

καθ' ὁμολο[γί]αν γεγονυῖαν

τῶ ἐνεστῶτ[ι μ]ηνὶ Φαμενώθ

ἀπὸ τῶν [ὑπαρ]χουσῶν αὐτῶ

περὶ κώμη[ν C]νεψαὺ τῆς

15 πρὸς λίβα το(παρχίας) ἐκ το(ὑ) Πατρόκ(-)

καὶ Βίωνος καὶ Λύσιδος κλ(ήρου)

ἀρουρῶν ἕξ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ

νότου τούτων μέρουσ κ(ατοικικῆς)

γῆς ciτο]φόρου εμπορίμου

20 ἕξ ὀρθογωνίου] ἀρούρας δύο

c. 20 letters ].

7 ον<sup>ω</sup>

8 παρακεχωρ<sup>η</sup>

10 απολλωνι<sup>ο</sup>

15 το), τ<sup>ο</sup>πατρο<sup>κ</sup>

16 κ<sup>λ</sup>

18 κ<sup>†</sup>

'Phanias and Diogenes alias Hermaeus, managers of the registers, to the agoranomus, greeting. Whereas Teteis daughter of Thoönis granddaughter of Thoönis, with as guardian her husband Onnophris son of Onnophris, has had ceded to her from Apollonius son of Apollonius grandson of Apollonius in accordance with an agreement concluded in the current month of Phamenoth from the six aruras of the allotment of Patrocles (or Patroclus?) and Bion and Lysis belonging to him near the village of Senepsay of the Western toparchy two aruras by rectilinear measure of wheat-growing, sowable, catoecic land from their southern section . . .'

1 The annotations are extremely cursive with abbreviations indicated in each case by raising the last letter above the level of the other writing. Similar marginal notes have appeared also in other types of document, but have so far defied decipherment, see X 1282 1 n. Here I am inclined to take the first group as βιβ, perhaps a reference to one of the record offices, the βιβλιοθήκαι, but I can get no further on that assumption.

2-3 The same pair appear in I 46 of 100 and in two other documents, II 341 and 342, where, as here, the dates are lost. They also appear with a colleague called Heraclaus, whose name comes between theirs, in I 45 of 95, and probably in II 347, where the first name, however, is lost; the date is also lost. The variations may not be significant for the date, but I have preferred to assign 3556 to c. 100, rather than to c. 95 as in ed. pr., because of its closer resemblance to I 46.

5-6 The woman's name is not damaged, just very rapidly written. There is also some alteration to the first letter. The reading of it is due to a suggestion by Dr Walter Cockle, who drew attention to the edition of II 331 (description) by A. Martin, *CE* 56 (1981) 299-303. He pointed out that that document of AD 83 mentions a lady called Τετρεῖς, (gen. Τετρεῖτος) married to Thoönis son of Thoönis grandson of Hierax and that our Teteis daughter of Thoönis granddaughter of Thoönis could well be a daughter of that couple. The spelling of her name here implies that it is trisyllabic, Τετρεῖς or Τετρεῖς. The only other occurrence of it is in P. Rein. II 94. 5 (Oxyrhynchus, AD 193-8), where the genitive is again Τετρεῖτος.

On the significance of the name Thoönis see now P. Köln IV 202. 1 n.

14-15 This passage is the first to give the toparchy in which Senepsay lay, cf. introd. and 3589 2-4 n. The other references are XLIX 3491 10 (AD 157/8), VII 1032 10 (AD 162), PSI XIII 1328. 39 (AD 194), XXXI 2584 10, 29 (AD 211).

The correction of *ζεμψαύ* in XIV 1776 11 to *νεψαύ* suggested in *BASP* 16 (1979) 19 n. 14, and accepted in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 167, is to be rejected. A photograph shows that we should read *Παψαύ*, see Pruneti, *op. cit.*, 140 for references to the *ἐποίκιον Παψαύ*. The fact that the article is *τοῦ* in 1776 10-11 suits an *ἐποίκιον* and excludes a *κώμη* such as Senepsay.

15-16 None of these names has appeared before as an allotment name in the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244, index 241-4. See *Festschrift Oertel* 105 for the difficulties connected with a multiplicity of names attached to allotments. Both *Πατροκλῆς* and *Πάτροκλος* occur in the papyri.

19-20 For the restoration see I 45 11-12, 46 23-5. The same documents show that, apart from any fractions of an arura that there may have been, this item has lost only the closing formula *διὸ γράφομεν ὑμῖν ἦν' εἰδῆτε*, the date clause, and possibly a countersignature by one of the *ἀσχολούμενοι*.

### 3557. AUTHORITY FOR EXECUTION OF A DEBT

19 2B.83/G(c)

12 × 20 cm

125/6

The main text here is an application by a creditor to the archidicastes for his authority to serve notice of execution, in the form of a copy of the same application, on a debtor who has failed to repay the debt (5-29). Lines 1-4, in a different, very cursive, hand, contain the desired authority, in the form of a letter from the archidicastes to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, telling him that a copy of the application should be delivered to the debtor. Line 30, after which the document breaks off, contains traces in a third hand of some further matter, uncertain in nature, see 30 n. The back is blank.

A very useful collection of parallel material is to be found in *Eos* 48. 3 (1956)

= *Symbolae R. Taubenschlag Dedicatae*, iii 89-103, esp. 92-4. See also P. Mich. XI 614 with the literature cited in the introduction, esp. n. 4, and in the commentary. Add E. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz* 126-7.

The archidicastes is new, see 1 n.

(m. 1) Χρύσερμος ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχιδικαστῆς Ὁξυρρυχείτου στρατηγῶ  
χ(αίρειν). τοῦ δεδομ(ένου) ὑπομ(νήματος) ἀντίγρ(αφον) μεταδοθ(ήτω)  
ὡς ὑ(πόκειται).

ἔρρ(ωσο). (ἔτους) δεκάτου Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ

Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ε. 15-30 letters.

5 (m. 2) Χρυσέρμω γενομένω ἱερεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρου κτίσ-  
τρο[υ] τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἱερεῖ ἀρχι-  
δικαστῆ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν χρημα-  
τιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κριτηρίων (vac.)

παρὰ Εὐδ[α]ίμονος νεωτέρου τοῦ Πετ. -

10 ἕριος τοῦ κ[α]ῖ Ἀπολλωνίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξυ-

ρύγχων π[ό]λεως. ὀφειλομένων μοι ὑ-

πὸ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος τοῦ

Ἀπολλωνίου μητρὸς Δι[δ]ύμης ἀπὸ τῆς

αὐτῆς Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως κατ' ἔνγρα-

15 πτον ἀσφάλεια γενομένην τῷ τρίτῳ ἔ-

τει Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μηνὶ Νέῳ Σεβ[α]-

τῶ ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν τριακοσίων [

ὀκτὼ κεφαλαίου, ὧν τὴν ἀπόδοσιν ὡμο-

λόγησεν ποιῆσασθαι τῇ τριακάδι τοῦ Τύβι

20 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἢ ἐκτεῖσιν τῆς ὑπερχρο-

νίας τόκους δραχμιαίο[υ]ς, καὶ τῆς ἀποδ[ό]-

σεως μὴ γενομένης ἀξιῶ συντάξαι γρά-

ψαι τῷ Ὁξυρρυχείτου στρατηγῶ

μεταδοῦναι α[ὐ]τῷ τούτου ἀντίγραφον,

25 ὅπως ἀποδῶ [μο]ῖ τὸ προ[κ]είμενον κεφά-

λαιον καὶ τοὺς τῆς ὑπερχρονίας τόκους

1 I. Ὁξυρρυχίτου στρατ. 2 χ) δεδομ? υπομ? αντιγρ? μεταδοθ?, ωσω) 3 ερρω  
5, 6 ἱερεῖ 10 ἕριος 14-15 I. ἔγγραπτον 15 γενομένην 20 I. ἐκτεῖσιν 22 γενομένης  
23 I. Ὁξυρρυχίτου

ἢ εἰδῆ ποιησόμε[ν]όν με τὴν πράξιν

ὡς καθήκει ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ,

διαπεσταλμ. [. . . . .]. α. [. . .] . . . [ . . . .

30 . . . . .] (vac.) (m. 3) . [

(1st hand) 'Chrysermus, priest and archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. Let a copy of the application which has been presented be served, as below. Farewell. Tenth year of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus . . .'

(2nd hand) 'To Chrysermus former priest of Alexander founder of the city and of the classes, priest, archidicastes, and superintendent of the chrematistae and of the other courts, from Eudaemon the younger, son of Peteyris (?) alias Apollonius, one of the inhabitants of the city of the Oxyrhynchi. Since I am owed by Apollonius son of Sarapion grandson of Apollonius, mother Didyme, of the same city of the Oxyrhynchi, in accordance with a written security made in the third year of Hadrian the lord in the month of Neus Sebastus, three hundred and eight drachmas of money as capital, of which he agreed to make the repayment on the thirtieth of Tybi of the same year or to pay interest of a drachma (per mina per month) for the overdue period, and since the repayment has not been made, I request (you) to give orders to write to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome to serve on him a copy of this document, so that he may repay me the aforesaid capital and the interest for the overdue period or know that I shall make due execution on his property . . .'

(3rd hand) 'As is customary(?) . . .'

1-4 The writing is almost illegible because of excessive *Verschleifung*, on which see W. Gdz. introd. pp. xlii-xliii. It means that the writing degenerates into wavy lines that can only be read with prior knowledge of the content. This was used only in formulas which were frequently repeated and easily understood from the contexts. In this case most of the words are certain from well written parallels, e.g. III 485 = M. Chr. 246, IV 719, though it is hard and sometimes impossible to pick out individual letters or see how precisely some of the words were abbreviated. In these cases it is useless to give dots, since letters cannot be counted.

1 Chrysermus is new, that is, not in the latest list of archidicastes, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* 129-49 or among the additions by L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 224. For his full titles see 5.

3 δεκάτου. 10 Hadrian = 125/6. The loan was made in 118 and should have been repaid in January 119, see 15-17 n. The six- or seven-year interval is not unusual, see P. Mich. XI 614. 27-9 n.

4 After the imperial titulature we expect a month name and a day number, and after those a note about the payment of charges for the registration of the contract. Here the writing is so crabbed that all this is uncertain, as is very frequently the case in these documents, see P. Mich. XI 614. 8 n., P. Oxy. IX Pl. VI.

6 τῶν ἡλικιῶν. Cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 20. 6 n. Van Groningen suggests that it refers to a division of the citizens of Alexandria into boys, ephebes, men, and old men. However, Wilcken's theory that it refers to the organization of ephebes by their year of entry still deserves consideration, see U. Wilcken, 'Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königskultes', in *Sitzungsberichte Akad. Berlin* 1938, 298 ff., esp. 307-8.

9-10 There is a correction at the end of 9. The diaeresis over the hypsilon at the beginning of 10 indicates that the previous letter was a vowel. Perhaps the most plausible explanation is that the clerk wrote Πετο-, thinking of Petosiris or some similar name, and had to alter this to suit Πετεῦριος or Πεταῦριος. It does indeed look as if omicron was originally the final letter of 9, but the correction has remained illegible. No likely alternatives to Peteyris and Petayris are offered in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wb. d. griech. Eigennamen* 203-4.

15-17 Only τρίτῳ seems acceptable; cf. 3 n. Neus Sebastus of 3 Hadrian covers 28 October-26 November 118. The loan was to be repaid on Tybi 30 of 3 Hadrian = 25 January 119, see 19-20.

17-18 Line 17 is slightly short. The space would just admit τριακοσίων [δεκα]<sup>18</sup>οκτώ, but against this is a presumption that the sum should be divisible by four to facilitate payment in tetradrachms.

19-20 Cf. 15-17 n.

21 δραχμαιο[υ]ς. This is the most usual rate of interest, a drachma per mina per month, which is twelve per cent per annum, see H. E. Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (diss. Erlangen, 1962) 27-51.

29 διαπεσταλμ[ι]. Cf. e.g. II 286 = M. Chr. 232. 25-7 πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ χρη<sup>26</sup>ματισμοῦ τελείωσιν διαπέσταλμαι Ἡρακλείδην Ἡρα<sup>27</sup>κλείδου, 'I have dispatched as my agent Heraclides, son of Heraclides, to conclude the transaction.' Below enough papyrus remains to show that there was not another line of this writing, so that here we need something much shorter, perhaps just a genitive absolute διαπεσταλμέ[νον] followed by name and patronymic.

30 What looks like the end of a long paragraphus can be seen. This marks the end of the main part of the document. It is followed below by the beginning of a subscription in a much larger hand. It might possibly be part of φ[ι] καθήκει, cf. II 286 = M. Chr. 232. 27, where these words are followed by a date clause in the same hand as they are. It must mean something like 'carry out the usual procedure', and it must be connected with the office practice of the department of the archidicastes, but no exact and certain explanation can yet be given.

## 3558. OFFER TO LEASE PASTURE

46 5B.48/B(1-2)a

10 × 17 cm

2 July 134

An application for the right to pasture animals on marginal lands and scrubland near Psenyris, in the Heraclides division of the Arsinoite nome.

Many land leases between private individuals include a clause allowing the lessee to exercise grazing rights over the forage crop sown to fallow the land; see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 342-9. Less common are leases of the present type between officials, usually the *presbyteroi*, and private persons, relating to grazing rights over public or domain land.

Examples I have noted are P. Mich. V 313 (AD 37), P. Giss. Univ. I 12 (AD 87/8), P. Iand. III 26, 26a, and 28 (AD 98, i-ii, and 104), P. Mil. Vogl. II 105 (AD 132/3), P. Lond. III 842 (p. 141; AD 140), and P. Ryl. II 100 (AD 238). Relevant too are the more numerous receipts for φόρος προβάτων and φόρος νομών, each of which implies the existence of an application similar to the present text. These taxes were paid nominally by the lessors, the *presbyteroi*, via the individuals who were the actual lessees of the right to graze sheep on domain land; see BGU XI 2102 introd. (add BGU XIII 2298), and A. Tomsin, *Les Presbyteroi* 488-91 (contra, S. von Bolla-Kotek, *Untersuchungen zur Tiermiete und Viehpacht*<sup>2</sup> 29-37).

The back is blank.

(m. 3?) . . . [ . ] νομ(ῆς) ὑπολ(όγων) καὶ ῥαχ(οῦ) ἄντικ(ρυσ) Ψενύρ(εως)  
(δραχμῶν) κ.

(m. 1) Ἡρα . . . . . κφ[  
παρὰ Ἀρνώθου νεωτέρου . . . εως  
τῶν ἀπὸ Ψενύρεως. β[ο]ύλομαι μισ-  
5 θώσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἰδιὸν ἡ (ἔτος)

1 νο<sup>1</sup>υπο<sup>1</sup>; ραχαγτι<sup>1</sup>ψενύρδκ

5 l. εἰσιόν; ης

Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου νο-  
μῆν ὑπολόγων καὶ ῥαχοῦ ἄν-  
τικρυσ Ψενύρεως, ἐφ' ὧν κυ-  
ρωθεὶς διαγράψω εἰς τὴν δημ(οσίαν)  
10 τράπεζαν ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) εἴκοσι καὶ τὰ  
τούτων προσδιαγραφόμενα.  
Ἀρνώθης ὁ προγεγραμμένος  
ἐπειδέδωκα καθὼς πρόκ(εῖται). (ἔτους) ιζ  
Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ  
15 Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Ἐπεῖφ ἦ.  
(vac.)  
(m. 2) Βησαρίω(ν) ὑπηρέτ(ης) ἐπηκολούθ(ηκα).  
(vac.) (m. 3) κο(λλήματος) μῆ.

9 δῆ<sup>1</sup> 10 ἀργ<sup>5</sup> 12 ὁ corr. from νε 13 l. ἐπιδέδωκα; πρὸς l. ιζ 16 βησαρι<sup>10</sup>υπηρε<sup>7</sup>επηκολο<sup>9</sup>  
17 κ<sup>9</sup> μῆ

(3rd hand?) ' . . . pasturage of marginal lands and scrubland opposite Psenyris, 20 drachmas.'

(1st hand) 'To Hera . . . , from Haryothes the younger, son of . . . , from Psenyris. I wish to rent from you for the coming 18th year of Hadrianus Caesar the lord pasturage of marginal lands and scrubland opposite Psenyris, for which, if my bid is ratified, I shall transfer to the public bank twenty drachmas of money and the additional charges on this. I, Haryothes the aforementioned, have submitted the application as aforesaid. Year 17 of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 8.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Besarion, assistant, have supervised.'

(3rd hand) 'Column 46'.

1 The superscript notation summarizing the application's terms is written more cursorily than the body of the text, but, apart from being inset, it is not noticeably separated from what follows. The hand may be that of the scribe who assigned the document its column number, see 17.

2 The name may be Ἡρακλεῖδης, but the remains of the fourth letter are hard to reconcile with kappa. Perhaps it was Ἡρᾶ simply. After that I am unable to read the title of an official or a patronymic. The end of the line may conceal the name of an estate, since the description of the land suggests that it is public or domain land. P. Mich. V 313, P. Mil. Vogl. II 105, P. Lond. III 842 (p. 141), and P. Ryl. II 100 show that applications of this type were often addressed to the *presbyteroi* (or their deputy; cf. P. Lond. II 255, p. 117), as do the majority of receipts for φόρος προβάτων. P. Iand. III 28, and perhaps also P. Iand. III 26, show that the strategus was also occasionally the addressee. In P. Lond. III 851 (p. 48) receipts are given on behalf of a strategus of Alexandria, but that title was not being used in an official capacity, for later in the same text the official is out of office (l. 43) and the land itself was near Apias, in the Fayum.

4 Ψενύρις is a village in the Heraclides division of the Arsinoite nome, see P. Tebt. II 300. 18, and pp. 410-11. SB I 5168. 16 should be corrected to περὶ Ψενύριω Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος and the initial entry in *WB* III 16a, s.v. Ψενύρις altered accordingly.

7 ὑπολόγων. Land which has been temporarily deducted from the tax registers, as for one reason or another it will bear no crop that year. The word is generally masculine singular, see C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 467-8, P. Beatty Panop. 2. 134 n. The plural here implies that there were several separate lots of marginal land on which animals could be grazed.

βαχοῦ. Not in *WB* or *Suppl.* In P. Sarapion 54(b). 1, noted in S. Daris, *Spoglio lessicale*, there was insufficient context for the editor to interpret the meaning of φόρου βαχοῦ, but it is now clear that this must be a similar charge for grazing rights to φόρος προβάτων or φόρος νομῶν. *LSJ* s.v. (1) gives the meaning 'brushwood' from GDI 5027, so that a translation 'scrub' or 'brush' seems appropriate.

12 δ corr. from νε. The scribe presumably began writing νεώτερος, cf. 3.

16 Cf. H. Kupiszewski and J. Modrzejewski, 'Υπηρέται, in *JJP* 11-12 (1958) 141-66, esp. 160-6.

## 3559. LIST OF COUNCILLORS

70/2 bis (a)

13.5 × 16.1 cm

After 27 September 150

This dark brown papyrus is complete only at the top and contains the remains of two columns of writing in a fairly elegant business hand. The back of the papyrus is blank.

It is impossible to specify the nature of the text in the left-hand column (i), since only the ends of lines survive. Evidently, it was a list of names: of these, only one is certainly in the nominative (Μοσχίων, l. 19); most are in the genitive and could be patronymics but the entry in l. 16, ]ου διὰ Ἐρμαίου, indicates quite clearly that it was a different type of document from that in the right-hand column (ii). The latter is a list of βουλευταί who were present at a meeting (doubtless of the *boule*, though that is not explicitly stated, cf. col. ii. 3 note) on Thoth 30, 150. As the heading ἄλλο indicates, this list is a copy which was presumably written up as part of a τόμος of documents after the date in question.

It is quite certain that this text is not to be referred to the *boule* of Oxyrhynchus, which did not possess such an institution in AD 150; at this date the only towns in Egypt which certainly possessed a *boule* were the 'Greek cities' of Ptolemais and Antinoopolis (see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 14-15). The fact that there is more documentation for the *boule* of Antinoopolis might suggest that 3559 is more likely to have originated there; however, none of the βουλευταί listed in the text is to be found in P. V. Pistorius, *Indices Antinoopolitani* (1939).

No precise parallel to this document exists in the papyri. The names of ten βουλευταί are preserved, but of course the column may have been much longer and the list may have been continued in another column. Such a list might serve as a record of whether a meeting was quorate (cf. *Digest* 50. 9. 2, *illa decreta quae non legitimo numero decurionum coacto facta sunt non ualent*, and the references given by W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* (1900), p. 242). But it is clearly not an *album decurionum* of the type attested for Canusium (*ILS* 6122) and referred to in *SB* III 7261; nor, again, an actual decree with the names of councillors appended, which may be preserved in *XLIV* 3171 and is best exemplified, outside Egypt, by *ILS* 6579 containing a decree of the *centumviri* of Veii followed by a list of names introduced by *adfuerunt*.

	col. i	col. ii
	]οc	ἄλλο·
	] . υκ( )	κατ' ἄγ[δρ]α τῶν συνεληθόντων β[ου-
	(2 lines lost?)	λευτῶν τῆ λ τοῦ ὄντος μηνός Θ[ῶθ
		τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιδ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου Κα[ίσαρος
5	]αιρημονο(ς)	τοῦ κυρίου. ἔστι δέ·
	(1 line lost?)	Πολυδεύκης Ἡρακλείου
	] . ματος	Διονύσιος Ὀπλωνος
	(1 line lost?)	Ἀνδρέας Ἀσκληπιάδου
	] . κλειδου	Ἰούλιος Νομισιανός
10	] . κλειδου	Ἡρακλείδης Γαίου
	]γεικου	Κωτάδης Διοδώρου υ[ιού
	]ειου	Ἀπολλωνίου
	]υ	Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ καὶ Τούρβων
	] .	Ἡρακλείου Ἀπολλοδώρου
15	]υ	Εὐτυχίδης Καραπίω[νος
	]ου διὰ Ἐρμαίου	Λο[
	(1 line lost?)	Ἰούλιος [
	] . φν	(1 line lost)
	] Μοσχίων	Ἰού[λιος

i 2 ] . υ\*

5 ]αιρημονο\*

ii 4 ιδ§

'Another: list of the councillors assembled on the 30th of the present month of Thoth of the current 14th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord. It is: Polydeukes son of Heraclius, Dionysios son of Hoplon, Andreas son of Asklepiades, Iulius Noumisianos, Herakleides son of Gaius, Sotades son of Diodoros son of Apollonios, Athenodoros also called Tourbon son of Heraclius son of Apollodoros, Eutyichides son of Sarapion son of Lo. . ., Iulius . . ., Iulius . . .'

col. i 7 The trace of the first letter surviving does not support a reading of ὄν[όματος].

col. ii 3 Statutory meetings of the councils were held on the 30th of the month, see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 32-6 and *XLV* 3248 10.

18 The lost line must be a patronymic, as in l. 12, 14, and 16, which are indented; the papyrus is preserved at the point where the writing would have commenced, had it not been indented.

## 3560. APPLICATION FOR THE REGISTRATION OF A LIEN

17 2B.63/J(c)

9.5 × 16.2 cm

163/4<sup>2</sup>

Upper part of an original application from Apollonides, son of Leonides, addressed to Theon and Heradion, property registrars, for the registration of a lien on the property of a freedman who was in debt to him. The interest due on the loan was at the standard maximum rate of twelve per cent per annum permitted by §105 of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (BGU V). The original loan was made through the registry office at Talao in the Lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The text also gives evidence of a Dromos of Isis at Talao.

The date clause has been lost with the foot of the document, but it can be assigned fairly confidently to 163/4. It dates from a regnal year numbered four (6), and is subsequent to the reign of Pius, who is called *divus* (22, 27). The only possible years are 4 Marcus and Verus, 163/4, and 4 Severus, 195/6. The next year 4 is of the reign of Elagabalus, 220/1, by which time the persons would have had the *nomen* Aurelius as a result of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, but it is clearly too late for another reason. Even 195/6 is rather unlikely, because previous charges on the debtor's property are mentioned, dating from 146 (21-2) and 149 (26-7), and an interval of about fifty years, never mind seventy-odd, is much less likely than one of about eighteen years between 146 and 163/4.

The text is written with a fine nib in a slightly backhand cursive, which closely resembles P. Mil. II 51 (Oxyrhynchus, after 160; see O. Montevecchi, *Papirologia*, tav. 54). The script is about 3 mm high and largely bilinear. A space filler is used at the end of l. 6 and also in special circumstances in the middle of l. 4, see n. The back is blank. Again the pattern of worm damage, particularly along the left edge, shows that the document was stored as a small roll, rolled up rather loosely in this case, with the top inside, cf. 3591, 3592, introductions.

(m. 3) παρε(τέθη)

(m. 1) Θέωνι καὶ Ἡραδίῳ βιβλιοφ(ύλαξι)

παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίδου Λεωνίδου μητρος

(m. 2) Θαήσιος (m. 1) ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως.

5 κατὰ δάνειον γεγονός διὰ γραφείου Ταλαῶ  
τῷ ἐνεστῶτι τετάρτῳ ἔτει Φαῶφι  
ἔδάνεισα Μυρτίλῳ ἀπελευθέρῳ Ἡλιοδώρου  
Διοδώρου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἀργυρίου  
δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα κεφαλαίου

1 παρε'

2 βιβλιοφ

4 Filler sign after Θαήσιος

6 Filler sign after Φαῶφι

10 τόκου δραχμιαίου ἐκάστης μνᾶς κατὰ μῆ-  
να ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φαῶφι εἰς προθεσμίαν τρι-  
ακάδα Φαμενώθ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους,  
σημανθέντος εἶναί μοι τὴν πράξιν ἐκ τῶν  
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων καὶ ἐξεῖναί  
15 μοι ὁπότ' ἂν θέλω κατοχὴν ποιήσασθαι  
διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ τοῦ Μυρ-  
τίλου ὀνόματος ἄχρι ἀπολάβω, ἣν περ κατο-  
χὴν βουλ[ό]μ[εν]ος χε[ν]έσθαι[ι] ἐπιδίδωμι  
τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὡς καθήκει, κ[αὶ] δηλῶ προ-  
20 κατεσχῆσθαι διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς βιβλιοθήκης  
ταῖς μὲν ἐπαγομέναις τοῦ ἐνάτου ἔτους  
θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου ὑπὸ Δημητρίας  
Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ [. ] ἥσιος πρὸς δραχμὰς  
διακοσίας κεφαλαίου τόκ[ο]ν δραχμιαίου ἐν τῇ  
25 Ταλαῶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέρεσι δρόμου Εἴσι-  
δος οἰκείδιον σὺν χρηστηρίοις, τῷ δὲ Παῦνι  
τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἔτους θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου[ν  
ὑ]πὸ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀμοῖτος τοῦ Ἀρπαησίονο[ν] c

c. 26 letters ] . . . [

25-6 l. \*Ισιδος

26 l. οἰκείδιον

(3rd hand) 'An entry has been made (in the register).'

(1st hand) 'To Theon and Heradion registrars from Apollonides, son of Leonides, whose mother is (2nd hand) Thaësis, (1st hand) from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with a loan made through the register office of Talao in the present fourth year in Phaophi, I lent to Myrtilus, freedman of Heliodoros son of Diodorus from the same city, one hundred and sixty drachmas of silver as capital at an interest of one drachma for each mina per month from the said Phaophi to the appointed day the thirtieth of Phamenoth of the same fourth year, it being recorded that I have the right of action for recovery against all his possessions and am permitted whenever I wish to establish a lien through the same record office against the name of Myrtilus until I recover (the debt), which lien I now wish to be established and I submit the memorandum as is proper. And I declare that prior liens were effected through the same record office firstly in the intercalary days of the ninth year of the god Aelius Antoninus by Demetria daughter of Artemon son of . . . esis with respect to two hundred drachmas of capital at an interest of one drachma per mina per month at Talao on a small house with appurtenances in the northern sections of Isis street, and secondly in Payni of the twelfth year of the god Aelius Antoninus by Apollonius son of Amois grandson of Harpaëtion . . .'

1 παρε(τέθη). For the appearance of this notation compare the plate of SB VIII 9878 in *JJP* 15(1965) opp. p. 80. For the process of parathesis see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 235-45 and A. M. Harmon, 'Egyptian Property Returns' in *YCLS* 4 (1934) 162-4.

2 βιβλιοφ(ύλαξι). N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v., shows that bibliophylaces normally had to be ex-gymnasiarchs to perform this liturgy and from the third century were normally of the curial class.

Theon is unlikely to be identical with Theon alias Ptolemaeus who was bibliophylax in Oxyrhynchus in 129 (I 75 1, III 584) and cannot be identified with any Theon in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*, or in his supplement in *The Family of the Ti. Iulii Theones* 103-28.

Heradion is a rare name found three times in papyri, IV 725 1, XII 1420, and BGU XIII 2336. 6. No example occurs in Sijpesteijn's lists of gymnasiarchs. Ischyriion, son of Heradion, who apprentices a boy to a weaver in 183 (IV 725 1), may be related.

4 Θάσιος. This has been added in a space left blank. The hand is more cursive and written with a thicker nib. It is followed by a diagonal space filler rising to the right.

5 Other documents relating to the register office of Talao include XLIV 3166 14 and III 637. Talao was in the Lower toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome adjacent to the village of Sinary (X 1285 131, III 514 2, 5).

6 The date is probably 29 September-28 October 163, see introd.

7 Myrtilus is an uncommon name in Egypt. It is found in P. Achmim 9 ii 78 and P. Vindob. Boswinkel 2. 9. As the name of a slave it occurs in *CIL* VI 10363. 4 and 39423. 1; as the name of a freedman it is found in *CIL* IX 991 and 5618.

On freedmen in Roman Egypt see I. Biezuńska-Malowitz, 'Les affranchis dans les papyrus de l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine', in *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan, 1966), 433-43.

11-12 The date is probably 26 March 164, see introd.

15 κατοχήν. The establishment of a lien on property is discussed in P. Coll. Youtic I, pp. 209 ff. with bibliography. The registration of a private (ιδιωτική) κατοχή by marking the entry in the register (διάστρωμα) of the βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων was the first stage in foreclosure. See F. von Woess, *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen*, 196 ff., XVII 2134 24-5, XXXIV 2722 39, and P. Ryl. II 115.

16 διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς βιβλιοθήκης. Cf. 20. These references are to the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, the property registry office for the nome, which these bibliophylaces managed, not to the village record office of Talao mentioned in 5.

21-2 The date is 24-8 August 146.

24-5 ἐν τῇ Ταλαώ. The second alpha has been overwritten in the same hand to make it clearer, cf. 25 n.

25 μέρεσι. Rho has been overwritten in the same hand, cf. 24-5 n.

26-7 The date is 26 May-24 June 149.

29 The remains would suit δρ]αχμ[αίον. There seems not to be room to supply πρὸς δραχμὰς (τόσας) κεφαλαίου τόκου δρ]αχμ[αίων, cf. 23-4. Possibly there was another element in the identification of the creditor, for example the name of his mother or a note of his origin, followed by πρὸς δρ]αχμ[άς.

## 3561. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS

10 1B.160/H(c)

9.5 × 11.5 cm

c. Jan./Feb. 165

A complaint to Zoilus, royal scribe and acting strategus of the Heracleides *meris* of the Arsinoite, from an Alexandrian citizen who had been assaulted and robbed by armed men. For the form of 3561 see M. Grdz. 33-6.

If this is the original and not a copy belonging to the petitioner, it may constitute a further example of an official bringing his papers back with him after his term of service in another nome; see E. G. Turner, *JEA* 38 (1952) 89-90. Unfortunately the name of the strategus, Vegetus, does not seem to occur in the Oxyrhynchite, while that of Zoilus is too common (in both nomes) to make any identification, however tentatively.

The back is blank.

Οὐεγέτω στρ(ατηγῶ) Ἀρσι(νοῖτου) Ἡρακλε[ίδου  
διὰ Ζωΐλου βασι(λικοῦ) γραμμα[ (τέως) δια-  
δεχομένῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στ[ρ(ατηγίαν)

τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδ' ὁ (c)

5 παρ[ὰ] Διονυσίου Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ . [  
λου Κοικροσμείου τοῦ καὶ Ἀλθαίεως.  
ἐχθὲς ἦτις ἐστὶν ἰβ̄ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς  
ἐπήλθάν μοι τινες ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ  
ξιφήρεις μετὰ κόμην Ἰερὰν Νεικολά-  
10 ου πρὸ τοῦ μαγδῶλου καὶ πολλαῖς με  
πληγαῖς ἠκίκαντο ὥστε τῷ ζῆν κιν-  
δυνεύσαι. οὐ μόνον τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ  
πάντα ἃ εἶχον ἱμάτιά τε καὶ ἀργύριον  
καὶ ὃν εἶχον χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον  
15 ἐβάσταξαν. ὅθεν κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον  
ἐν]τυγχάνω σοὶ καὶ ἀξιῶ ἐν κατα-  
χωρι]σμῶ γενέσθαι παρὰ σοὶ τῶδε

9 1. Νικολάου

'To Vegetus, strategus of the Heracleides *meris* of the Arsinoite, via Zoilus, royal scribe and acting strategus of the same *meris*, from Dionysius, son of Eudaemon and grandson of . . . lus, of the Sosicosmian tribe and Althacan demc. Yesterday, being the twelfth of the present month, persons unknown armed with swords attacked me in the manner of bandits beyond the village of Hieria Nicolaou in front of the watchtower, and assaulted me with numerous blows so as to endanger my life. Not only that, but they also stole all the clothes and money I had, and a gold ring I had. Wherefore I am necessarily petitioning you and I ask that this [petition] be put on file with you . . .'

2 Known dates for the strategia of Vegetus are after 12 May 164 to 28 January 166: G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell' Arsinoites*, 40-1. Zoilus is attested as acting for him in Jan./Feb. 165 (SPP XXII 91. 2, p. 30), and the form of the address here indicates that Vegetus was still in office: see M. H. Eliassen-de Kat, *Actes XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès*, 116-23. Yet there is no way to know how long Zoilus remained acting strategus, or on how many other occasions he deputised for Vegetus. The parameters for the date of 3561 are as follows: Vegetus' predecessor, Stephanus, is last known as strategus on 30 January 163 (Bastianini, op. cit. 40), while Zoilus' successor, Serenus, is found as royal scribe with Vegetus on 28 January 166 (M. H. Eliassen-de Kat, *SO* 55 (1980) 99). The assault occurred on 'the 12th of the present month', so the petition can have been written no earlier than Mecheir 13 = 6 Feb. 163 and no later than Tybi 13 = 8 Jan. 166.

5 τοῦ . [ . π most suits the traces, but ε, ν, τ, or even η is also possible. There is room for no more than 2-3 letters at the line end.

7 ἰβ̄. Either a slightly more closed form of β than in line 15, or an open topped form of α.

9 ξιφήρεις. Not in the papyrological lexica. *LSJ* attests it from Eur. *Or.* 1272, and in later prose.

9-10 Ἰερὰ Νεικολάου. A village near Karanis (P. Cair. Isid. 34. 18 n.), now attested in P. Mich. XII 642 of mid 1 AD, so that the view of H. Gremek, *Karanis, Communauté rurale . . .* (Warsaw, 1969), 21, that this was

a later name for Hiera Nesus, seems no longer tenable. The size of Karanis in Roman times and its popularity as a retirement centre for army veterans (Calderini, *Diz. Geogr.* s.v.; add E. M. Husselman, *Karanis. Topography and Architecture* (Ann Arbor, 1979)) makes it preferable to distinguish three villages in the area—Hiera Nesus, the original settlement attested from mid iii bc, and Hiera Nicolaou and Hiera Severi, its Roman offshoots (although D. Foraboschi, *CdE* 42 (1967) 175 n. 1, argues that the latter is an *usia*, not a village)—than to consolidate the three into a single settlement.

<sup>10</sup> *μαγδάλου*. This may be connected with the desert road from Memphis, entering the Fayum to the NE of Karanis at Bacchias (P. Tebt. II Map). A charge for *ἐρημοφυλακία* was levied on travellers along it (P. Fay. 67-76(a) Introd.), to provide security against just such incidents as the present assault.

<sup>17</sup> The petition will have continued *τόδε τὸ βιβλίδιον πρὸς τὸ μένειν μοι τὸν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς φανηρομένους αἰτίους vel sim.*: M. Grdz. 33.

## 3562. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

(No inv. no.)

11.5 × 16 cm

178/9

The papyrus is incomplete at the left and at the foot. Approximately two-thirds of each line is missing, as can be deduced from the imperial titles in l. 2. There is therefore no possibility of making connected sense from what remains. It is clear, however, that the text records a report of a trial (for this type of document see R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings* (Pap. Brux. 4; 1966)) held before an epistrategus, and that the trial concerned failure to repay a debt secured by a mortgage and the consequent procedure distraining upon the mortgaged property. For the necessary legal steps in this procedure see R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup> 533-5, and for the formulae used in the documents, H. Kupiszewski, *Symb. Taubenschlag* 3 = *Eos* 48, 3 (1956) 89-103.

The text is written in a large, clear, almost elegant semi-cursive, with a fine pen. A fold running diagonally downwards to the right in ll. 1-7 was already present when the text was written. The form of omega is noteworthy: it resembles a large S written on its side, to which a curving downstroke has been added to complete the letter.

The papyrus is referred to as P. Oxy. ined. D in J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part 2: The Roman Epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. VI, 1982). Its chief interest lies in the peculiar title borne by the epistrategus, for which see the note to l. 1.

[*Ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν* c. 43 letters ]ου ἐπιστρατήγου ἰα Νομῶν ἔτρος ἰθ

[*Ἀυτοκράτορων Καισάρων Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἄντωνίνου καὶ Λουκίου*

*Αὐρηλί]ου Κομμόδου Σεβαστῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν*

[*Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Γερμανικῶν Καρματικῶν μεγίστων* c. 18 letters ]

*Ἔτρος Πετάλου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου*

[*πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα* ] .ρον *Καράπιδος. Φίλιππος ῥήτωρ*

[ *ἄ]πολαμβάνων δὲ οὔτε τὸ κεφάλαιον*

[*οὔτε τοὺς τόκους* τοῖς] *ἐξῆς νομίμοις ἐχρήσατο μηδὲν ἀντει-*

[*πόντος* ] . καὶ *τῆς ἐμβαδείας τελειομένης*

[ *ἄ]πολαμβάνων δὲ κτλ.* ] *παρακαλοῦμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντειπόντα*

[ . . τῶν νομίμων ἤδη σχεδὸν πάν-  
10 [των τετελειωμένων ] *ειν υπε. [ . . ] πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονῶς*  
[ *-κ]οντα δραχμὰς ἐδανείσατο ὁ ἡμέτε-*  
[ *ὁ]φλήματος συνθήκαι τινας. ἐπειδὴ*  
[ *] λαβὼν τὰς διακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα*  
[ *δι]δομένων τῷ ταμείῳ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν*  
15 [ *]ματων προσῆλθεν λέγων ἀπο-*  
[ *ὑ]πάρχουσιν [ . . . ] . [ . . ] α[ . . ] . . ουτρον . . οἱ*

10 ὑπε

<sup>1</sup> At the start *ἀντίγραφον* may well have been written before *ἐξ ὑπομνηματισμῶν*.

*]ου*: either the end of the cognomen of the epistrategus or the end of *κρατίστ]ου*. In comparable headings the epithet is often omitted, cf. II 237 vii 30, VI 899 30, and P. Mich. VI 365. 1, with Thomas op. cit. 45; this suggests *]ου* was the end of the cognomen. Note, however, that if so and if the epistrategus was in charge of the Heptanomia (cf. below), he cannot then have been the Flavius Valens known to have held this office in March 179 (Thomas no. 51).

*ἐπιστρατήγου ἰα Νομῶν*. It is unusual for the area of the epistrategia to be mentioned in texts of this kind. The only certain parallel is P. Oslo III 180, though a number of other texts may be parallels in this respect, see Thomas, op. cit. 42. The area which is meant by the expression 'Eleven Nomes' remains problematical; see the discussions in *Actes XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès* iv 132-40, and Thomas, op. cit. 37-9. The expression occurs elsewhere only in P. Tebt. II 569, which belongs in 175/6 or 176/7 (*Actes XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès* 135 f.), and is thus almost contemporary. The evidence of XLVII 3362, which is likely to be of about the same period as 3562 and P. Tebt. 569, suggests that there are two possible areas: (a) the Heptanomia, which in 3362 does in fact comprise eleven nomes, so that the expression here may be a pedantically accurate title temporarily in use instead of the more usual 'epistrategus of the Seven Nomes'; and (b) the area of the Eastern part of Lower Egypt, which is attested as a distinct area in 3362 and which also comprised eleven nomes. The fact that in 3562 one of the parties is from Oxyrhynchus suggests, but does not compel, alternative (a).

*ἔτρος ἰθ*. The papyrus is badly frayed at this point, but *ἰθ* seems the only possible choice among the limited number of possible readings.

2-3 On the victory titles borne by Marcus and Commodus during their joint rule see K. P. John, *Klio* 48 (1967) 177-82, and P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der röm. Kaiser* (1969) 105 and 111: they both show that in Egypt, as distinct from most other parts of the Empire, the full titles, ending with *μεγίστοι*, were used consistently from 177 onwards.

3 In the lacuna will have come month and day. Before *Ἔτρος* part of a raised horizontal dash is visible, no doubt marking the day number.

4 ] .ρον *Καράπιδος*. The prefect is known on occasion to have held court in a temple, cf. SB V 8261. 4 f. and VI 90161 3, which suggests reading here *περὶ ἱερῶν Καράπιδος*. However, the traces of the first letter still visible do not seem compatible with epsilon and one would expect the place of the trial to have been mentioned earlier if at all, cf. Coles, op. cit., 29 ff. Probably therefore we should look here for a description of Horus' opponent. *νεωκ]όρον Καράπιδος* is palaeographically acceptable, but the phrase seems elsewhere to be *νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Καράπιδος* and the official is surely too grand for this context. Perhaps we should read *παστοφ]όρον Καράπιδος*. For this type of title cf. H. B. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* (1976), 10-11, and VII 1028 17-18 *παστοφόρον Καράπιδος θεοῦ μεγίστου*.

4-5 Restore something like *Φίλιππος ῥήτωρ [ὑπὲρ Ἔτρον ὁ ἡμέτερος δανείσας μὲν δραχμὰς . . . ἄ]πολαμβάνων δὲ κτλ.*

6-7 For the type of expression here cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 19. 5 f. *κεχρησθα[ε] ἔξεν[ε]χυρασίαι καὶ προσβολῆ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς νομίμοις*, and P. Lond. III (p. 158) 1164d. 8-9 *τὰ ἐξῆς νόμιμα πάντα ἐτελείωσεν μέχρι ἐμβαδείας καὶ*

αὐτῆς ἐμβαδείας. For τὰ νόμιμα as a technical term in such a context cf. A. B. Schwarz, *Hypothek und Hypallagma* 113 ff.

μηδὲν ἀντειπόντος. On the ἀντίρρησις see Taubenschlag, op. cit. 534.

7 τῆς ἐμβαδείας τελειουμένης. The present participle is presumably emphatic: all procedures prior to the ἐμβαδεία had been carried out and the ἐμβαδεία itself was actually being put into effect when at the last moment some objection was raised. Cf. ll. 9–10 'the legal steps had by now almost all been completed'.

10 We must no doubt read ὑπέρ, but it is not clear how the lacuna of some two letters between this and πενήκοντα is to be filled: ὑπέρ [τὰ] πενήκοντα ἔτη and ὑπὲρ [δέ] πενήκοντα ἔτη are the obvious possibilities. In neither case is it clear what would be meant here; the expression ὑπὲρ πενήκοντα ἔτη occurs in PSI XIV 1422 ii 19 f., but there it is used by a petitioner to try and win sympathy because of his relatively advanced age, and so can hardly be a parallel for what we have here. A major difficulty is that we cannot be sure whether the advocate of Horus is still speaking or whether the speaker is now his opponent (see the next note). Do we perhaps have a claim of *longi temporis praescriptio*, i.e. that the repayment is no longer enforceable because of the long lapse of time since the debt was incurred (cf. Taubenschlag, op. cit. 244–5 and esp. 427)? But a period of fifty years seems too long for this to be the right solution.

11 ἐδανείσατο. This must mean 'borrowed' and so by this point we presumably have a counter-plea by the advocate of the opposing party.

12 ἐπειδή is preceded by a space and the epsilon is much enlarged, hence the punctuation adopted.

14 διδομένον τῷ ταμείῳ. ὀφειλομένων cannot be read. For διδομένων cf. XXII 2348 38–40 εἰ δέ τις ὑπερῆνος τῆς βουλήσεως τῆς διαθήκης μου πράξει (= πράξει) τῶν κληρονόμων μου, δώσει εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀποκράτορος δραχμὰς τριεχίλιας. Possible also is ἀποδομένων, cf. P. Michaelid. 41. 64 f. μετὰ τὴν τοῦ προστίμου τοῖς θεοῖς ταμίους ἀπόδοσιν.

### 3563. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

A 10.B.5/8

(a) 11.2 × 9.8 cm  
(b) 16.3 × 9 cm

Early third century

These tattered scraps are of interest for the mention of a previously unknown prefect of Egypt, Claudius Claudianus. For a discussion of his possible date, see 10 n.

The two fragments do not physically join but their relative position has been determined. Fr. a contains ll. 1–12, fr. b ll. 11–20. The nature of the text they contain remains unclear. 3–4 at any rate may preserve names of addressees, who are local Oxyrhynchite officials presumably. Perhaps we have a letter to a plurality of officials who may have been serving as a special commission. Note the probable vocative φίλτατοι in 15.

There is a kollesis on the front (through ι of ἀναγκαῖον, 9). On the back and therefore the verso and written later than the correspondence are the badly damaged remains perhaps of some kind of register. Mesore in the third year of Severus Alexander (= July/Aug. 224) is mentioned. This is not necessarily the date of the writing of the register, and indeed is unlikely to be so because of the greater difficulty of accommodating a new prefect in Severus Alexander's reign before then (cf. 10 n.), if this date were taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the text on the front.

[ c. 26 letters ] . . . ωτ[ c. 6? ]  
 [ c. 8 ] . . . . καὶ η[ . . . ] . [ . . . ] ατ[ . ] ων[ c. 6? ]  
 [ c. 8 ] ] κία τῶ καὶ Διον[υσίω] ἀγορανο[μ- c. 5? ]  
 [ c. 8 ] ] δη τῶ καὶ Σελεύκω β[ου]λευταῖς [ c. 6? ]  
 5 [ c. 3? ] ?χαίρε]ιν (vac.) [ ]  
 [ c. 4 ] . [ . ] . [ c. 5 ] ] μνοι προστῆναι τῆς διοικῆ[σεως?]  
 [ c. 4 ] ] ατων τῶ διεληλυθότι [ . ] (ἔτει) τοῦ κυρ[ί]ο]ν ἡμ[ῶ]ν  
 [ Ἀὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλ[ε]ξ[άνδρου]  
 [ Εὐσεβοῦς] Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ ἀναγκαῖ[ό]ν ἔστιν τοῦ λαμπρ[ο-]  
 10 [ τάτου ἡ] μῶν ἡγεμόνος Κλαυδ[ί]ο]ν Κλαυδιανοῦ εὔ[τυ-]  
 χῶς [ c. 16 ] ] ἐπιβῆναι ν[ . ] [ c. 7 ]  
 δικαζοντ[ . . . ] [ c. 9 ] . . . . σπερι[ c. 4 ] . . . ε  
 ωστ[α] . της γεν[ . . . ] . [ c. 7 ] . . [ . ] φ[ . . . ] ση  
 τε αὐτῶ παρεῖναι εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημήσαντι ἐπὶ  
 15 . . εὔ[ c. 9 ] ] φ[ί]λτατοι τηρούμενοι λ[ . . . ]  
 [ c. 12 ] ] τῆ κρατίστη βουλῆ περὶ ὧν [ . . ]  
 [ c. 11 ] ] . ν δ[ι]καίων [π]ρὸς δὲ ἕκαστον [ . . ]  
 [ c. 12 ] ] δὲ τοῦ ἐπιστ[ά]λματος ἔπεστα[ . . ]  
 [ c. 12 ] ] . . . . . 'ο' . . [ c. 14 ] ]  
 20 [ c. 16 ] ] . . . . [ ]

2 ] . [ : a descender 11 ὦ pap.? 13 Possibly space for a second letter between α and τ ] . [ :  
 a descender ] . [ : second is a descender After φ, ι or ρ 18 Possibly three letters in final lacuna

1 Spacing suggests articulation ] . . φ τ[ .

2 η: beginning of a personal name?

3 Ν]ικία (or Νε]ικία) is a likely supplement. If correct, this man may be identical with the Aurelius Nicias *alibi* Dionysius, (ex-?) agoranomus and *bouleutes* of XLIV 3171 15, of c. 214–50.

7 There is space in the lacuna in the middle of the line for the year-number to have had two figures.

10 Claudius Claudianus, prefect of Egypt, is new. The dating formula in 7–9 links his tenure with the reign of Severus Alexander, but the year-figure which would have identified the past year in 7 has not survived. A glance however at G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 309 reveals a substantial gap in the list of prefects during that reign of possibly some four years, no prefect being attested between 5 February 225 or later (the latest known date for Claudius Herennianus as deputy prefect) and 230 or earlier (Claudius Masculinus in office); Claudius Claudianus perhaps belongs in this space. The list for the rest of the reign is more crowded, although not sufficiently to exclude absolutely a different placing for Claudianus.

13 Possibly space for five letters between φ and ζ, but seemingly not φρρ[τ]ίση<sup>14</sup>τε or φρρ[τ]ίση<sup>14</sup>τε; the last trace before ζ is of a descender, wrongly placed for ι and unsuitable for τ.

14 Unexplained marginal traces to the left of this line.

18 Or διὰ τοῦ]δε at beginning?



## 3564. RECEIPT FOR A GRAIN TRANSFER

14 1B.207/J(c)

12.8 × 14.3 cm

5 October 235

The main interest of **3564**, first transcribed by Sir Eric Turner and referred to in his *Greek Papyri*<sup>2</sup> (1980) 205, suppl. n. 30, as 'P. Oxy. ined.', lies in the landowner C. Calpurnius Aurelius Theon, an Alexandrian office holder and member of the Museum. On Museum membership see *Greek Papyri* 86-7, and N. Lewis, *Festschrift Bluma Trell* (1981), 149-66 (with earlier bibliography).

Theon is probably the same as Calpurnius Theon, τῶν ἐν Μουσεῖῳ κειτηθέντων (No. 26 in the list of Museum members in Lewis, op. cit.), whose daughter appears in XLII **3047** and **3048** (AD 245 and 246) as the owner of substantial estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome. His father may be the philanthropist Aurelius Horion, sometimes Calpurnius Aurelius Horion, of IV **705** = W. Chr. 153, XII **1560**, XXXVIII **2848**, and PSI XII 1255, who was instrumental in establishing an ephebic contest at Oxyrhynchus in 202 (see K. J. Rigsby, *CE* 52 (1977) 147-55); see below 1 n.

The back of the papyrus is blank.

Γάιος Καλπούρνιος Αὐρήλιος Θέων

ἀπὸ Μουσειῶν καὶ ὡς χρημα(τίζω), δι' ἐμοῦ

Αὐρηλίου Νείλου τοῦ καὶ Πατερμουθίου

λογοπρ(άκτορος), Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀπίωνι ἐπισφρα-

5 γιστῆ Σενεκελεύ 13 (ἔτους) χαίρειν. ἔσχον

πάρουτα ἀπὸ διαστολ(ικ)οῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας

πέντε, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ε. κυρία ἢ ἀποχή

καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. (ἔτους) β'

Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γ[α]ϊ[ο]υ Ἰουλίου

10 Οὐήρου Μαξιμεινίου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς

Σεβαστοῦ, Φαῶφι ζ'. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Νείλος

ὁ καὶ Πατερμουθις σεσημ(είωμαι) τὰς τοῦ (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ε--.

2 χρημας 4 λογοπρς 5 13 6 I. πάρουτα 7 + ε 8 Lβ' 9 ἰουλιου  
11 αυρηλ 12 σεσημ + ε--

'Gaius Calpurnius Aurelius Theon, member of the Museum and however I am styled, through me Aurelius Nilus alias Patermuthis, accounts manager, to Aurelius Apion, sealer of Senecleu for year 13, greetings. I have received straightway in accordance with the notice for payment five artabas of wheat, total 5 art. wheat. The receipt is valid and having been formally questioned I have assented. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi 7. I, Aurelius Nilus alias Patermuthis, have signed for the 5 art. wheat.'

1 Γάιος Καλπούρνιος Αὐρήλιος Θέων. A strong argument for relating Theon to Aurelius Horion of **705** etc. (see introd. above) is that both men occasionally have the same two gentile names, in the same order; it seems unlikely that there could be two wealthy Alexandrian families with the same unusual nomenclature whose members also held high office in their city and owned large estates in the Oxyrhynchite. Theon is Calpurnius Theon in **3047** and **3048**, but Calpurnius Aurelius Theon here. Horion is usually Aurelius Horion (**705**, **2848**, PSI XII 1255 18), but Calpurnius Aurelius Horion in PSI XII 1255, 6-7 and **1560** (read Καλπούρνιος Αὐρηλίῳ 'Ὁρέων in l. 13). This last antedates the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, so he did not acquire Aurelius as an additional *nomen* at that time. Besides, when Aurelius was adopted then in addition to an existing *nomen*, it was invariably given precedence; see J. F. Gilliam, *Historia* 14 (1965) 86-90, and XLV **3243** 2 n.

Another *gentilicium* was usually acquired through adoption into another family, and in this case we can point to a likely source for the *nomen* Calpurnius. Horion was closely connected with another wealthy Alexandrian, Calpurnius Firmus. They held property in the same area of the Middle Toparchy (PSI 1255), were associated in gifts to Oxyrhynchus (**2848**), and there is a further connection through Horion's steward Philoromaeus (**1560** 4, P. Iand. VI 99; see H. Geremek, *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 159-71). Business ties and friendship may have been strengthened by adoption. A relationship between Theon and Calpurnius Firmus has already been suggested in **3047** 2 n.; the view of **2848** introd. that the same family also produced the prefects Valerius Firmus and Claudius Firmus has no support.

2 ἀπὸ Μουσειῶν. For the Alexandrian Museum in the Roman period see *RE* XVI 1817-20. A full listing of known members of the Museum is given by N. Lewis, *Festschrift Bluma Trell* 149-66.

4 λογοπρ(άκτορος). Not in *WB* or *Suppl.*, this is noted as 'dub. sens.' by *LSJ* from P. Baden II 26. 40. It should probably also be read in P. Harris I 97. 7, where H. I. Bell, *JEA* 24 (1938) 142, suggested λογοπ(ράκτη) βαλ(ανείων); if so, *LSJ* *Suppl.* s.v. λογοπράκτης should be altered accordingly.

5 Σενεκελεύ. In the Western Toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 164-5.

13 (ἔτους): sc. of Severus Alexander = 233/4.

6 διαστολ(ικ)οῦ. Or read διαστολῆς (*WB* s.v. (4)). διάστολον is attested only from P. Lond. V 1727. 58 (vi AD), and then in the plural.

## 3565. PROPERTY RETURN

16 2B.52/B(d)

6.0 × 29.5 cm

5 April 245

A general property return addressed to the laographi of Isieum Panga, made in response to an edict of Aurelius Basileus. Its major point of interest is to provide a new *terminus ante quem* for the replacement of Aurelius Basileus as prefect by C. Valerius Firmus: see 6 n.

For bibliography and earlier examples of texts similar to **3565** see XLV **3242**, and G. Nachtergaele, P. Brux. I, pp. 51-8, who gives a full listing of census returns of both property and persons (the two are often consolidated into a single document). A recent general discussion is that of O. Montevicchi, *Aevum* 50 (1976) 72-84.

Recently published returns of property only, or property and persons, are XLVII **3332** (AD 53), P. Mich. inv. 6188 (ed. L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 207-10) (AD 81), BGU XIII 2220 (AD 131-3), SB XII 10842 (AD 133), P. Vindob. Tandem 20 (AD 146/7), P. Amst. I 30 (mid ii AD), BGU XIII 2223 and P. Berol. inv. 13357 (ed. P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *Archiv* 27 (1980) 49-54; AD 175), P. IFAO III 28 (c. 200 AD), and SB XII 11150 (AD 202/3).

λαογραφ(άφοις) Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἀνεικήτου  
 Πλουτάρχου ἄρξαντος  
 βοαγείαν βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς Ὀξυ(ρυγχιτιῶν) πόλ(εως).  
 5 κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) ὑπὸ  
 Αὐρηλ(ίου) Βασιλέως τοῦ ἡγε-  
 μονεύσαντ(ος) ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τ(ήν)  
 τοῦ διελ(θόντος) α (ἔτους) Μάρκων  
 Ἰουλίω[ν] Φιλίππων  
 10 Καϊσάρων τῶν κυρίων  
 κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφήν) τὸ ὑπάρ-  
 χον μοι ἐν κώμ[η] Ἰσί[ου]  
 Παγγᾶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπ[ὸ]  
 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) μ[έ]ρεσι τῆς κ[ώ]μης  
 15 ἐπὶ τοποθεσία α. . ( ) δ[  
 (πρότερον) Βερενεικιανοῦ  
 τοῦ κ(αὶ) ζ. . α ( ) ἐπικαλου(μένον)  
 Εὐδαίμονος Διογένους  
 μητ(ρός) Εὐδαιμονίδος  
 20 ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως) καὶ αὐτ(ὸ)  
 (πρότερον) τοῦ πατ(ρός) καὶ πάππου  
 Ὠρείωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Βερξ-  
 ρεικιαν[οῦ] (τέταρτον) μέρος  
 ψειλ(ῶν) τόπ(ων) [ἐν] οἷς περι-  
 25 τερεῶν καὶ ἕτερα χρης-  
 τήρια, καὶ ὀμνύω  
 τὸν Ἰ[ου]λιαν[οῦ] ξ[ε]θι-  
 μο[ν] ὄ[ρ]κ[ον] μὴ ἐψευ-  
 χθαι. (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος  
 30 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου  
 Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου  
 Ἰουλίου [Φ]ιλίππου

11-12 ὑπαρ[χο]ν  
23 δ' = (τέταρτον)

16 α' = (πρότερον)

20 ᾱ = α(ὐτῆς)

21 α' = (πρότερον)

γενναιοτ[ά]του καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτ(ου)  
 35 Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν,  
 Φαρμού[θι] υ. Αὐρήλ(ιος)  
 Ἀνεί[κ]ητο[ς] Πλουτ(άρχου)  
 ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὁμώμοκα  
 τὸν ὄρκον.  
 (vac.)  
 40 (m. 2) ἀγερ(άφη) π(αρά) λαογρ(άφοις).  
 (vac.)  
 (m. 3) κολ(λημάτων) ξθ, ο.  
 Back, downwards:  
 κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρ(αφή) α (ἔτους) [ c. 10 letters ] Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ.

'To the laographi of Isieum Panga from Aurelius Anicetus son of Plutarchus, ex-magistrate in charge of the conveyance of oxen, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. In accordance with the orders issued by Aurelius Basileus the ex-prefect, I register for the house-by-house census of the past first year of the lords Marci Iulii Philippi Caesares the quarter share of vacant lots belonging to me in the village of Isieum Panga, in the eastern sections of the village, by survey . . ., formerly the property of Berenicianus alias S. . . surnamed Eudaemon, son of Diogenes, his mother being Eudaemonis, from the same city, and itself formerly the property of his father and his grandfather Horion alias Berenicianus, on which (plots) there is a dovecote and other appurtenances. And I swear the oath customary among the Romans that I have not made a false declaration. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Iulius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Iulius Philippus the most valiant and most noble Caesar, Augusti, Pharmuthi 10. I, Aurelius Anicetus son of Plutarchus, have submitted the return and sworn the oath.'

(2nd hand) 'Registered with the laographi.'

(3rd hand) 'Columns 69, 70.'

(Back.) 'House-by-house census of year 1 (registered with the laographi?) of Isieum Panga.'

1 P. Harris 71 (AD 187/8) and P. Amst. I 30 (mid ii) appear to be the only other published κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί from Isieum Panga. For the role of the λαογράφοι as recipients of κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφαί in the third century see XXXVIII 2855 1 n.

2 Αὐρήλιος Ἀνεικήτος. Possibly a relative of Aur. Horion, s. of Anicetus, and his nephew Anicetus alias Remmius of XXXIV 2711 (c. 268-71); the names Horion and Eudaemonis are common to both texts.

3-4 βοαγείαν. *Add. lex.* XLIII 3090 12 mentions ἄρχοντες set over liturgists transporting calves to Alexandria for the visit of Caracalla in 215/16. Animals were also forwarded from Egypt at this time for use in Caracalla's Parthian campaigns (BGU I 266 = W. Chr. 245), and XLIII 3109 (AD 253-6) attests the conveyance of plough-oxen to Syria for Valerian's armies. No doubt similar arrangements existed throughout the period of Roman military involvement against Sassanid Persia, for which see W. Ensslin, *CAH* XII 126 ff.

6-7 The latest date for the prefecture of Aur. Basileus has been taken to be Pachon = Apr./May 245, from P. Flor. I 4 (= W. Chr. 206) 33. Line 31 of the present text attests him as out of office by Pharmuthi 10 = 5 April 245. We should accordingly expand the abbreviation in P. Flor. I 4 6 as τοῦ λαμπ(ρότατα) ἡγεμο(νεύσαντος). We cannot assume that 5 April 245 is then the *terminus ante quem* for Basileus' replacement by C. Valerius Firmus, otherwise first attested as prefect on 21 May 245 (see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 312), because in some cases at least the name of the new prefect was mentioned along with that of the old, see M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Recensement* 53-7.

This document, like P. Flor. I 4, does at least show that Basileus was in office at some time during the first

year of the reign, that is, in the period 29 September, AD 243 to 28 September, AD 244, and suggests that he may quite probably have been in office for some part of the Egyptian year AD 244/5.

8 Other declarations known from this year are P. Flor. I 4 (= W. Chr. 206) and 5, BGU IV 1069 recto, and SB I 4299.

10 *Cεβαστροί* is omitted, as often in this titulature: see Burch, *Titulatures* s.v.

15 *ἐπι τοποθεσία* α. . ( ) δ[. The abbreviation consists of a vertical stroke ligatured to the preceding α. It descends below the line, before rising above it in a large arch, rather like an outsize π or the form of ε used at the end of ll. 3 and 24. Within the arch is a small dot (or ο?), although another possibility would be to take this with the vertical as part of a letter. The parallel for *ἐπι τοποθεσία* in III 505 7 suggests the need for a unit of measurement at this point. Possibly *ἀπλοῦς*, which is used of *πήχεις* in VI 921 Introd., XVIII 2145 *passim*; except that this still leaves us with the problem of the measure itself. A reference to a survey plan on which the property was shown (cf. XIV 1637 21-7 n.) seems a less likely possibility.

δ might be the first letter of a numeral, but its interpretation awaits the resolution of the abbreviation.

17 ζ. . α( ). Although only the third letter is broken, all that is really certain is α. *ζαρα(πίωνος)* is possible, but ε or π could equally well be read for ζ.

22-3 Horion alias Berenicianus occurs also in VI 908 14 (AD 199), as ex-*excectes* and current gymnasiarch and eutheniarch of Oxyrhynchus.

36 *Φαρμού[θι]* ι. It seems more likely that the ι is the day and not the final letter of the month name, since in that case the day number would have been omitted.

40 *ἀνεχρ(άφη)*. Better than *ἀπεχρ(άφη)*, (cf. P. Flor. I 4 (= W. Chr. 206) 36).

42 The available space would allow a repetition of the wording of 40, [*ἀναγρ(αφεία) π(αρά) λαογρ(άφαις)*] *Ἰεῖον Παγαῖα*.

## 3566. REQUEST FOR PAYMENT

70/26 bis (c)

9.5 × 15.5 cm

29 August-27 September 246

This light-coloured papyrus, which is complete at the foot and at both sides, contains a request for payment in connection with baths at Oxyrhynchus (cf. XLIV 3173, 3176). The request is made by Aurelius Ophellios (l. 13) but since the beginning of the document is lost we cannot be sure what his position was. In view of the amount requested, a total of 2,475 drachmas covering a period of five months, it seems likely that he was under contract to work on the baths and that the sum mentioned represents (at least in part) his wages for this period; cf. XXXI 2569 which attests a *μισθωτῆς ἀνιμήσεως ὑδάτων*, and XLIV 3173, where two contractors claim wages at the rate of 500 drachmas per month. It is likely that, as in XLIV 3173 and 3176, the request was addressed to the prytanis of the council. The addressee is asked to order the *ταμίας τῶν πολιτικῶν χρημάτων* (for this official see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 44-6) to make the payment. After the subscription of Ophellios, there follows a section which contains or refers to an instruction to the treasurer to make the payment (cf. XLIV 3185, C. P. Herm. 94); this ought to be the work of a third hand, since the subscription in ll. 13-14 shows that the document is not a copy but an original.

The back is blank.

. . . . .  
 . [ c. 30 letters ] . .  
 . [ c. 30 letters ] . .  
 (δραχμῶν) υφ[ε c. 20 letters ] . . δραχμ[ὰς  
 διςχε[ι]λίας τ[ετρακοσίας] ἑβδομήκοντα  
 5 πέντε, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἰβυοε, καὶ ἀξιώ ἐπιτ[ε]ῖ-  
 λαί σε τῷ ταμείᾳ τῶν πολιτι-  
 κῶν χρημάτων ἐξοδιάσαι μοι  
 ταύτας. (ἔτους) δ' Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου  
 10 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου  
 Φιλίππου γενναιοτάτου καὶ  
 ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν,  
 Θώθ. (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ὀφέλλιος αἰτοῦ-  
 μαὶ ὡς πρόκειται.

(vac.)

15 (m. 3?) ἐπ( ) ταμείᾳ πολ(ιτικῶν) χρη(μάτων)  
 βαλανείου (πρότερον) Ἀρρίου Ἀπολινα-  
 ρίου μηνῶν ε̄ τῶν ἀπὸ  
 Παχῶν ἕως Θώθ δρ[α]χ(μάς) υφε,  
 τὰς συναγο(μένας) (δραχμάς) Ἰβυοε.  
 20 (ἔτους) δ' , Θώθ.

3 υφ[ε] 5 Ἰβυοε 8 Ἰδ' 15 ε) πθ̄ χρῆτ̄ 16 α' 18 δρ[α]χς  
 19 συναγοδ' Ἰβυοε 20 Ἰδ''

'... at dr. 495... two thousand four hundred and seventy-five drachmas, total drachmas 2,475, and I ask you to order the treasurer of the city funds to make this payment to me. Year 4 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Iulius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Iulius Philippus the most valiant and most noble Caesar, the Augusti, Thoth. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Ophellios, make the request as aforesaid. (3rd hand) Order (or I have ordered?) the treasurer of the city funds (to make payment of?) the total sum of 2,475 drachmas, being 495 dr. for the 5 months from Pachon to Thoth, in connection with the bath formerly belonging to Arrius Apolinarios. Year 4, Thoth.'

1 The illegible remains at the end of the line look as if they have been corrected by overwriting.

2-3 Restore perhaps something like *μ[ηνῶν πέντε τῶν ἀπὸ Παχῶν ἕως Θώθ ε]κ* |<sup>3</sup> (δραχμῶν) υφ[ε τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομέν]ας δραχμ[ὰς κτλ., '... for the five months from Pachon to Thoth at 495 dr., the sum total of...', cf. 17-19.

4-5 The rate of payment of 495 drachmas per month can be compared with the wage rate of 500 drachmas per month paid to the contractors in XLIV 3173. If the reading of a singular subscription in 3173 18-20 (see note) is correct, we might have a parallel in 3566 13-14 with Ophellios making the request on behalf of a partner.

15-20 This section ought to be either a direct instruction to the treasurer of the city funds from the person to whom the request was originally addressed (probably the prytanis of the council); or perhaps a notation by

him that he has sent the instruction to the treasurer (cf. C. P. Herm. 94, an order from a prytanis to the treasurer of the city account, and XLIV 3185, where a prytanis orders the γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν to make a payment).

15 ἐπ( ). The sign of abbreviation is the bracket-like curve which usually denotes that the next letter is pi. The word must be some part of ἐπιστέλλω, although this would seem to be otiose if the notation is a direct order from the prytanis to the treasurer; if it is to another official asking him to instruct the treasurer it is curious that this official is not named. Alternatively, it might be simply a summary of the request made in the main body of the document reiterating that instruction to the treasurer is required. The most likely resolutions are, therefore, either ἐπ(ίστελλον) or ἐπ(έστελα).

16-17 For this bath, now belonging to the city, see XLIV 3173 7 and 3176 6-7.

17-18 For the wording of this section cf. C. P. Herm. 54. 15-16.

20 It is curious that neither here nor in l. 13 is the day of the month specified.

### 3567. SUBMISSION OF EVIDENCE OF CIRCUMCISION

19 2B.79/J(2-3)c

16 x 20 cm

25 July-23 August 252

In response to orders given by an acting high priest, a temple servant delivers an extract of proceedings which certifies that an earlier acting high priest had authorized his circumcision. This authorization was equivalent to official admission to the priestly classes. Both the acting high priest to whom the certificate was delivered, Anninus(?) Antoninus, who was in office on some date between 25 July and 23 August, AD 252, and the earlier incumbent, Sabinianus, in office on 1 November, AD 221, are new, see the latest list by G. Parássoglou in *ZPE* 13 (1974) 35-7. The most recent study of the high priesthood is by M. Stead in *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Papyrology*, 411-18.

This document is presumably a copy, since the whole, including the subscription, is in a single hand. The back is blank.

On the circumcision of the priestly classes see *Archiv* 2 (1903) 4-13, P. Tebt. II p. 59. The principal documents are W. Chr. 74-7 (i.e. P. Tebt. II 292, 293, BGU I 347, P. Strasb. inv. G. 60), BGU I 82, XIII 2216, SB I 15-17, VI 9027, and PSI V 454.

Ἀ]ννίω Ἀντωνείνω τῷ κρατίστῳ δι[α]έποντι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην  
 παρὰ Ἀνρηλίου Ὀννώφριος Ὀννώφριος τοῦ Τεώτος μητρὸς Σι-  
 θεύτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως πυραίθου καὶ παστοφόρου Ἀθηναῖ-  
 5 Θοήριδος θεᾶς μεγίστης ἱεροῦ τοῦ ὄντος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει. κα-  
 τὰ [τὰ κ]ελευσθέντα ὑπὸ σοῦ κ[ . . . ] παρατίθεμαι τῷ ἀποστα-  
 λέν[τ]ι ὀφθικιαλίῳ Ἀνρηλίῳ Ζήγωνι ἱεράσθαι με ἐν τῷ προ-  
 κειμένῳ ἱερῷ καὶ περιτετμηῆσθαι ἐκ συγχωρήσεως  
 τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἀκολούθως τῷ γενομένῳ ὑπομνή-  
 10 ἐπιμέλειάν σου λαμβάνειν. (ἔτους) β' Ἀυτοκράτορος

1 l. Ἀντωνίω; ἀρχιερς 3 ὀξυρύνχων 4 ἱεροῦ 6 ἱερασθαι 7 ἱερω 10 Lβ"

Καίσαρος Γαίου Οὐϊβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου  
 Οὐ<ι>βίου Ἀφινίου Γάλλου Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Οὐολουσιανοῦ  
 Εὐ<β>ίων Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν, Μεσορή. (vac.) ἔστι δέ.  
 ἔτους] ε', Ἀθῦρ ε'. Ἀνρηλίου Ὀννώφριος Τεώτος πυραίθου  
 15 καὶ πασ]τοφόρου προσαγαγόντος υἷον αὐτοῦ Ἀνρηλίον Ὀννώ-  
 φριν] καὶ ἀξιώσαντος αὐτὸν περιτεμηθῆναι, ἐφειδόντος  
 τε τῆ]ν περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπὸ Ἀνρηλίου  
 Ἀρπο]κρατίωνος στρατηγοῦ Ὀξυρυνχέιτου, Καβεινιανός  
 20 ἐκέλε]γχεν αὐτὴν ἅμα τοῖς ὑποκεκολλημένο<ι>ς ἀναγνωσθή-  
 ναι. ἀν]αγνωσθείσης, Καβεινιανός, κελύσας τὸν παῖδα  
 . . . .]εσθαι, τῶν ἱερογραμματέων ἐπύθετο μὴ  
 τι τῶν] ἀπηγορευμένων ἢ ἄλλο τι σημείον ἐπὶ τοῦ σώ-  
 ματος] ἔχει. εἰπόντων καθαρὸν καὶ ἄσημον, Καβει-  
 νιανό]ς διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὑποσημει-  
 25 ωσάμ]ε]ρος τῇ [ἐπ]ι[στ]ολῇ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν περιτεμηθῆναι.  
 Ἀνρηλί]ος Ὀννώ]φριος Ὀννώφριος ἐπιδέδωκα.

11 γαίουουβίου; γαίου 15 υἷον 16 l. ἐπιδόντος 17 εἰν γραφεῖσαν corr. from ι  
 18 ὀξυρυνχέιτου; l. Ὀξυρυνχίτου, Καβεινιανός 20 ]εγ corr. ?; l. Καβεινιανός 21 ἱερογραμματεων  
 23-4 l. Καβεινιανός

“To Anninus(?) Antoninus, *vir egregius*, administering the high priesthood, from Aurelius Onnophris son of Onnophris, grandson of Teos, mother Sintheus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, pyraethes and pastophorus of the temple of Athena Thoëris, most great goddess, which is in the same city. In accordance with orders given by you, I too (?) report to Aurelius Zeno, the *officialis* sent (by you), that I do religious duty in the aforesaid temple and have been circumcised by permission of the high priesthood, according to the record made at the time, of which I subjoin the following copy so that nothing may escape your official attention. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and (Imperator Caesar) Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus, Pii Felices Augusti, Mesore. Viz:

“Year 5, Hathyr 5. When Aurelius Onnophris son of Teos, pyraethes and pastophorus, presented his son Aurelius Onnophris and requested that he be circumcised, and submitted the letter written about him by Aurelius Harpocratio, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, Sabinianus ordered it to be read together with the items attached below. When it had been read, Sabinianus ordered the boy to be . . . ed and inquired of the hierogrammateis whether he had on his body any of the forbidden signs or any other sign. When they said that he was ritually pure and free of distinguishing marks, Sabinianus, administering the high priesthood, put his subscription to the letter and ordered that he be circumcised.”

‘I, Aurelius Onnophris son of Onnophris, submitted (this document).’

1 Ἀ]ννίω. Probably Ennius, a very rare *nomen*, need not be considered. The remains of the top of the first nu seem characteristic enough to exclude other letters or combinations. It is just possible that the *nomen* was set out into the left margin by two or even three letters, though enough blank papyrus survives to the left of the gap to show that it could not be more. This means that something like [Αικε]ννίω is theoretically possible, though it seems likely that only one letter is lost.

δι[α]έποντι. Probably διαδεχόμενῳ was in the writer's mind. So far no difference in meaning between these terms has been identified.

3 *πυραΐθου*. For this rare title see XXXIV 2722 introd. and 3 n. The fact that this man and his father were also *παστοφόροι* shows that they were not priests of the highest class and the same is likely to be true of the persons in 2722. Indeed *παστοφόροι* were strictly speaking not *ἱερείς* at all, though they were *ἱεράμενοι*, cf. 6. It was known, however, that they were circumcised, see H. Schönborn, *Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter* 22, referring to PSI IX 1039; see also PSI V 454.

5 κ[ . . . ] *παρατίθεμαι*. The gap is the same width as four letters in the line above, but κ[ἀγά], with its broad omega, will probably suit. If true, it may imply that Onnophris was only one of a category of persons who were required to prove their status at this time, cf. PSI IX 1039. The direct reason for the submission of the document remains uncertain.

10-13 All other examples of this titulature begin *Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καισάρων*, see P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures* 117. The singular here is evidently a mere mistake.

13 The day number has been omitted. The month of Mesore in the second year of Gallus and Volusianus covered 25 July-23 August, AD 252.

14 *ἔτους* ε', *Ἀθὺρ* ε'. The name of the strategus, given in 17-18 as *Ἀυρηλίου [Ἄρπο]κρατίωνος*, allows us to place this year 5 in the reign of Elagabalus, and calculate the date as equivalent to 1 November, AD 221. From the latest list of Oxyrhynchite strategi in *ZPE* 29 (1978) 178-9 we can see that this man was in office c. AD 218-25, 2 Elagabalus to 4 Severus Alexander. On the same day in 5 Severus Alexander, 1 November, AD 225, another strategus, Aurelius Antyllus, was in office.

16-17 *ἐφειδόντος* (= *ἐπιδόντος*) [τε τῆ]ν . . . *ἐπιστολήν*. Cf. W. Chr. 76 ἀ[ν]αδόντ[ο]ς [τε] τὴν κτλ., SB VI 9027. 14 *ἀναδό[ν]των τε τὰς κτλ*. For the false aspiration and the iotacism see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 133-8, 190-1.

A sample of such a letter is SB I 15. 7-26, cf. 16. 1-14, 17. 1-15.

17-18 On the strategus see 14 n.

18 *Καβεινιαός*. His title is given in 24 as *διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην* and he is new, see introd.

19 *ἅμα τοῖς ὑποκεκολλημένο[ι]ς*. The items attached below will have afforded documentary proof of the status of Onnophris, census returns and a birth certificate, for example, cf. SB I 15-17, W. Chr. 77, and perhaps a report from temple officials about his religious status, cf. W. Chr. 75.

20-1 *κελεύσας τὸν παῖδα* [ . . . ] *εἶθε*. This clause does not occur in the parallels, W. Chr. 76, 77, SB I 15-17, SB VI 9027, BGU I 82. Of the doubtful vowel there remains only a ligature joining sigma at a rather low level. Iota, omicron, and hypsilon are excluded; alpha and omega are also possible, but less likely than epsilon.

24-5 *ὑποσημειωσάμε[ν]ος τῆ [ἐπ]ι[στ]ολῆ*. BGU I 82. 11 has *παρασημειωσάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολήν*; SB I 15. 28 has *π[α]ρασημειωσάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολήν*. In SB VI 9027. 20 the editor has restored the simple verb *σημειωσάμενος* before *τὰς ἐπιστολάς*. For *ὑποσημειόμαι* with the dative we may compare Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VII ch. 30 ad fin., *τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν γράμμασιν ὑποσημειούμενον*.

### 3568. ADDRESS TO AN OFFICIAL

70/25<sup>4</sup>(a)

6 × 10 cm

c.273/4

This fragment from the top of a document provides yet another instance of the names and titles of Aurelius Euporus *al.* Agathodaemon, already attested by BGU IV 1073-4. There is some variation in the order in which his titles are given. An unusual feature here is the placing of his title of hypomnematographus after, and therefore completely dissociated from, the municipal magistracies of Alexandria. Where it stands it might be taken either as one of the municipal magistracies of Oxyrhynchus or as separate from both groups of municipal titles. However, if we compare the formulation here with those in BGU IV 1073 (= M. Chr. 198) 4-6 and 1074. 10-11 (cf. P. Oslo III 85. 1-6<sup>2</sup>), we find that in those the title hypomnematographus occurs as the last of a string of Alexandrian titles immediately before *τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων*. The

meaning here must be the same as in those places. If, therefore, the placing in 3568 is a permissible variant and not just a mistake, it may be taken as some support for the view favoured in P. Oxy. XL, pp. 31-2 (and cf. 3571 1-2 n.), namely that the post of hypomnematographus was one available only to Alexandrian citizens but tenable, sometimes or always, outside Alexandria.

Written along the fibres. The back is blank.

Ἀυρηλίω Εὐπόρω τῷ καὶ  
 Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι γενομένῳ  
 εὐθηνιαρχῆ κοσμητῆ  
 ἐξηγητῆ τῆς λαμπροτάτης  
 5 πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων(ν)  
 ὑπομνηματογράφῳ ἐξηγη-  
 τῆ βουλευτῆ τῆς λαμπράς  
 καὶ λ[αμπροτάτης Ὁξυρυχι-]  
 τῶν π[ό]λεως c. 11 ]  
 10 α[

5 *αλεξανδρέω*6 *ὑπομνηματογράφῳ*

'To Aurelius Euporus *alias* Agathodaemon, former eutheniarch, cosmetes, and exegetes of the most illustrious city of the Alexandrians, hypomnematographus, exegetes and senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites . . .'

1 For Euporus see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 132, with further references indexed on p. 183. Note that on p. 132 the months for BGU 1073-4 have become transposed, or in other words the chronological placing of titulature + reference has been reversed.

2 *γενομένῳ*. Cf. *ZPE* 30 (1978) 241. Does the word here have blanket application to all the offices listed (except *βουλευτῆ*, 7)? It is uncertain whether any of the offices listed is current, excepting of course *βουλευτῆς* which was a life appointment (see e.g. A. K. Bowman, *op. cit.* 25, 142 n. 32).

7 Note that neither his tenure nor his former tenure of the office of prytanis is mentioned. This may not be significant, given the broken state of the papyrus and that the scribe might omit titles, cf. BGU 1073 with the earlier 1074; but the omission could suggest that 3568 antedates BGU 1073-4. If so, it could not do so by very much; cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 285 on the titulature of Oxyrhynchus. If on the one hand we hesitate to assign 3568 to a period earlier than X 1264 (4 March 272) and on the other we accept an earlier prytany for Euporus in 272/3, accepting J. R. Rea's correction of P. Oslo III 85 (see A. K. Bowman, *op. cit.* 132 n. 5), the available gap is reduced to less than six months; but this insubstantial edifice rests on very insecure foundations.

In l. 1 of P. Oslo 85 for *γγμ[α]ειάρχης(ας)* read *εὐθηνιαρχης* (or *εὐθηνιαρχής(ας)*? but no indication of abbreviation survives). This will remove an inconsistency between P. Oslo 85 and BGU 1073-4 if all are to refer to the same man. A photograph suggests that δ is the best reading of the year-number in P. Oslo 85. 23. The order of the titles in 1-2 there is extraordinary, with *βουλευτῆς* sandwiched between magistracies, but I have failed to make any improvements.

## 3569. LETTER FROM A STRATEGUS TO AN EPISTRATEGUS

70/59(a)

15 × 17 cm

Late Oct./early Nov. 282

The papyrus is virtually complete, but at the left it is incomplete at top and bottom and elsewhere the ink has disappeared. It is written in an official hand of a type well attested in the later third century; there is some affinity with chancery hands, on which see G. Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216 ff.

The text is a covering letter sent by the strategus of the Small Oasis to the epistrategus (of the Heptanomia), informing him that he has dispatched separately the *μηνιαῖος λόγος ἀργυρικός καὶ γενικός* together with the record of his activities for the period Thoth-Phaophi of the eighth year of Probus. The expression *λόγος ἀργυρικός καὶ γενικός* *vel sim.* occurs not infrequently in private documents (e.g. P. Flor. I 77), but I know of only two papyri in which it occurs in an official context closely similar to that indicated in the present papyrus: (1) P. Ant. I 32 (339), a *λόγος ἀργυρικός καὶ γενικός πατριμωναλίων* for June of the 13th indiction sent by the strategus of the Diopolite nome to an official described on the verso as *ἡγεμόνι* and who, as the editor says, at this date must be the *praeses* of the Thebaid; and (2) P. Beatty Panop. I. 64 (298), in which the strategus of the Panopolite informs the *catholicus* that he has sent him the *μηνιαῖον λόγον ἀργ[υ]ρικόν καὶ ἀν[ων]ικόν ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπολογισμὸν ἐπιστολῶν κα[ὶ] παρ' ἐμοῖ* *γενομένων ὑπομνημάτων* and that the *σιτικός λόγος* is to follow. With these texts we should compare P. Strasb. inv. 31 + 32 (194), published by U. Wilcken in *Archiv* 4 (1908) 122-3, where col. IV reports a letter from the *procurator Neaspoleos* to various *strategi* concerning *τὰ εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεμπόμε[να] βιβλία τῶν τε εἰ[ς] πράξεων σιτικῶν τε καὶ ἀργυρικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπολογισμ[ῶν] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ μῆνα*.

We knew already from these texts that the strategus was required to submit monthly reports of the type referred to in the present letter. What is new, and rather unexpected, is the information that the epistrategus was one of the recipients of such reports. The situation is reminiscent of that found in P. Yale inv. 1529, published by G. M. Parássoglou in *AJP* 92 (1971) 662-6: here the strategus informs the epistrategus of the dispatch to him of a report concerning dike work. This text and 3569 are at present unique and it is perhaps no accident that they are contemporary (the Yale papyrus belongs in AD 280/1). Our letter informs us that the epistrategus was only one of several recipients (l. 11 *οἷς ἄλλοις δέον ἔστί*). One of the other officials to receive a copy will no doubt have been the prefect (corresponding to the *praeses* in P. Ant. 32) and, at this date, another is likely to have been the *dioecetes*. Possibly too a copy was sent to the *procurator Neaspoleos*, cf. P. Strasb. inv. 31 + 32.

P. Ant. 32 and P. Beatty Panop. I. 64 are copies of letters from the strategus to the epistrategus retained in the office of the strategus. Since in our text ll. 13-14 are in a different hand, presumably the strategus' own hand, it would seem at first sight that the text is the original. However, we should then have to believe not only that part of the official archive of an epistrategus had survived but that it had survived at Oxyrhynchus.

No doubt the true explanation is that the strategus as well as adding a greeting to the original added one also to this copy which he kept with his papers.

The text provides us with (a) the name of a previously unknown epistrategus of the Heptanomia, see l. 1 n.; and (b) the latest known date for the reign of Probus, see further l. 16 n.

[ . . . μίω Διοδώρ]ω τ[ῶ] κρατίστω ἐπιστρα-  
τήγῳ Ἀυρήλιο[ς] 'Ὁρίων γενόμενος  
ὑπομνηματογράφος στρατηγός 'Οάσε-  
ω[ς] 'Ἐπ[τὰ] Νομῶν χαίρειν.  
5 Τῶ[ν] μ[η]νιαῖον λόγον ἀργυρικόν καὶ  
γεν[ι]κόν καὶ τῶ[ν] γ[ε]νομένων ἐπ' ἐ-  
μοῦ [ὑ]πομνηματισμοῦς διμήνου  
Θῶθ Φαῶφι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἡ (ἔτους) τοῦ  
κυρίου ἡμῶν Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου  
10 Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ πέμψας σοι κύριέ μου  
καὶ οἷς ἄλλοις δέον ἔστί, γράφω ἴν'  
εἰδῆς.  
(m. 2) [ ἔρ]ρώσθαί σε εὐχομαι  
[ ] κύριέ μου.  
15 (m. 1) [(ἔτους) ἡ τοῦ κυρίου] ἡμῶν Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου  
[Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ] Ἀθ[ῶν] ἡ [

Back (m. 1?) ]μίω Διοδώρω

3 ὑπομνηματογράφος 8 ἡς 14 μου—

'To Septimius (?) Diodorus the epistrategus, *vir egregius*, Aurelius Horion formerly hypomnematographus, strategus of the Oasis of the Seven Nomes, sends greetings.

'I am writing to inform you that I have sent to you, my lord, and to the other requisite persons the monthly account, both in money and in kind, and the memoranda of my business for the two-month period Thoth-Phaophi of the current 8th year of our lord Marcus Aurelius Probus Augustus.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your good health, my lord.'

(1st hand) 'Year 8 of our lord Marcus Aurelius Probus Augustus, Hathyr 7th (?).'

Back 'To Septimius (?) Diodorus.'

1 [ . . . μίω Διοδώρ]ω. The *gentilicium* is most probably Septimius (see 17). There is certainly room for the supplement, especially if we assume that this line projected somewhat to the left, cf. 5. Another possibility is Maximius. This is the first attestation of this epistrategus, no. 79a in J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part 2: The Roman Epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. VI, 1982), 191. He is the latest epistrategus whose name is known.

2 There is no good reason to identify this Horion with Aurelius Philarchus also called Horion, who was

strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in 284-6, see 3570 10 n. Therefore our text is not likely to have any bearing on the vexed question of whether the Oxyrhynchite nome and the Small Oasis could share the same strategus (as argued, e.g., by N. Lewis, *Recherches de pap.* 3 (1964) 28).

3 ὑπομνηματογράφος. On the post see XL, p. 31, cf. 3568 introd. A number of strategi in the late third century had previously been hypomnematographi; cf. those listed by J. E. G. Whitehorn, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 182 f., 3571 1-2 and n.

4 Ἐπ[ὶ τῶ] Νομῶν. Although the reading of the first two letters is exceedingly precarious, it is more probable than Ζ which is the only conceivable alternative. For this description of the Small Oasis cf., e.g., P. Harr. 62. 1.

5-7 Note that the report is still called *μηνιαῖος* even though it refers to a two-month period.

6-7 ἐπ' ἐμοῦ. ἐπ' ἐμοί is at least as easy palaeographically but the genitive seems more likely than the dative in the context. The equivalent phrase has been lost in P. Beatty Panop. 1. 64, quoted in the introduction, and the editor has restored παρ' ἐμοί.

7 [ὑπ]ομνηματισμοῦς. The reading is not certain but we cannot read ἀπολογισμοῦς as P. Stras. inv. 31 + 32. 15 (quoted in the introduction; cf. *ibid.* ll. 4-5, and P. Beatty Panop. 1. 64) might suggest. For ὑπομνηματισμοῦς cf. P. Beatty Panop. 1. 64-5 and P. Lips. 123, an ἀναγραφὴ ὑπομνηματισμῶν of a strategus deposited in the βιβλιοθήκη.

11 For the officials here alluded to see the introduction.

16 Αθ[ῶν]. The papyrus is torn at this point and the pieces slightly warped. Nevertheless it does not seem possible to read Αθ[ῶν] [because of the spacing and because the traces are hard to read as rho. It seems fairly clear that we have remains of a bar over a numeral; traces also survive of the numeral itself but are too exiguous to permit a definite reading; perhaps zeta is the correct solution. Spacing is against [ε]ζ or [κ]ζ. In any case we should expect the strategus to have sent in his accounts within the first few days of the month following that to which they related; cf. especially P. Beatty Panop. 2. 61-7, with Skeat's note to l. 64. The point is of considerable importance, since this is the latest attested date for the reign of Probus and establishes once and for all that Probus' reign did not come to an end as early as August 282, as has sometimes been argued (e.g. G. Vitucci, *L'imperatore Probo* (1952) 129-31, and J. Schwartz, *Recherches de Pap.* 3 (1964) 95, *Bonner Hist.-Aug. Colloquium 1964/5* (Bonn, 1966) 206 f.). In fact we have long known from the Alexandrian coins that Probus had an Egyptian year 8, which began on 29 August 282, and this evidence has now been confirmed by P. Mich. XI 610. 42-7, published in 1971: this text refers to Phaophi, year 8, i.e. to late Sept./Oct. 282. For recent discussions of the problem see E. Van 't Dack, *Ancient Society* 6 (1975) 140-1, C. Gallazzi, *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 1976, 245-8, A. Chastagnol, *Bonner Hist.-Aug.-Colloquium 1977/8* (1980) 45-50, and *Mélanges de numismatique . . . J. Lafaurie* (1980) 75-82. All deduce correctly that Probus continued to reign during his Egyptian year 8, but Gallazzi goes further than this and attempts to deduce that the accession of his successor Carus can be fixed within the period Thoth 1-15, 282. This is not incompatible with the evidence of P. Mich. 610, which merely proves that the death of Probus was not known in Oxyrhynchus by some unspecified date in Phaophi, but it is incompatible with the evidence of the present text which still dates by Probus in the Small Oasis at a date which cannot be earlier than Hathyr 1 (= 28 October) 282. In fact the text on which Gallazzi relies to make his deduction, P. Cornell inv. 78 published by O. Neugebauer and H. B. Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (1959), p. 61 no. 282, does not prove his point. It is true that the text refers to Thoth 16 of year 1 of Carinus [*sic*], i.e. to 13 September 282. But the text is a horoscope written long after 282, and when years are calculated for this purpose the system was to assign to any emperor as his year 1 the whole of the Egyptian year in which he acceded: see XLVI 3299, intr. P. Cornell inv. 78 is therefore of no value for establishing the date at which Probus ceased to rule. The next evidence quoted by Gallazzi for the reign of Probus' successors is P. Cornell 12. 1-3. Although in this text the year number is lost, the formula of the imperial titles indicates that it belongs to year 1 of Carus and his sons and, as it is a contemporary document, it does prove that they were the emperors by the time this text was written. The difficulty here concerns the name of the month. The editors read Ποίακ[ ] and comment 'For Ποίακ read Χοίακ'. This is accepted by Gallazzi and Chastagnol, who date the text to late Nov./Dec. 282. Such a drastic correction, however, does not carry conviction; while from the plate we can see that the proposal in *BL* II to read Παμ(ενώθ) for Φαμ(ενώθ) is impossible. The correct solution, which I owe to Dr John Rea, is to read Ποιαν[εψιώνος]. P. Cornell 12 is from Antinoopolis, where Milesian months were in regular use, and the month Πανοψηών, cf. *LSJ* s.v., figures in the list given by M. E. Dicker in *Archiv* 9 (1930) 226-7. It has recently been attested, again in the spelling Ποιανεψιών, in XLIX 3477 i 4, see introd. The month is equivalent to Epeiph so that P. Cornell 12 merely

proves that Carus and his sons were emperors by late June/July 283. Thus the earliest attestation of their reign becomes I 55 16-19, which dates from Pharmuthi 12 = 7 April 283.

Chastagnol, *Mélanges Lafaurie*, 81, adds P. Athens 24. 18-19 as evidence for dating by year 1 of Carus, Carinus, and Numerian on 24 March 283, but as (a) the year number is lost and l. 11 refers to a 'current year 2', and (b) of the imperial titles only *Μά[ρκων Αύρηλίω]ν* [survives, the evidence of this text is, to say the least, highly suspicious.

## 3570. LETTER FROM BESARION TO APOLLONIUS

36 4B.99/A(1-5)a

10.7 × 17 cm

c. 285

This letter concerns the supply of hay to the *princeps* of the prefect for the use of animals under his charge. Neither the writer nor the recipient has an official title, but it is clear that both must have held some office which enabled them to authorize distribution of hay from the stock held in the nome. Since neither can have been strategus (see l. 10), it is not unlikely that one or both of them was a dekaprotos. The chief point of interest is the reference to an assessor (*συγκάθεδρος*) of the epistrategus. From the occurrence of a known strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome the text can be approximately dated; it is one of the very few pieces of evidence for the survival of the office of epistrategus as late as the reign of Diocletian, see J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part 2: The Roman Epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. VI, 1982), chap. 7 (where this text is referred to as P. Oxy. ined. B). The back is blank.

κυρίω μ[ου ἀδελφῶ] Α[πολλωνίω

Βησαρίων [χαίρει]ν.

ὁ συνκάθεδρος τοῦ ἀπαλλαγέντος

ἐπιστρατήγου ἄμα τινὶ ὀφικιαλίω

5 ἔλθων πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔφησεν κτήνην

τοῦ πρίγκιπος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐνταῦθα

εἶναι ἀριθμῶ δεκαπέντε οἷς χρή-

ζειν χόρτου μανδακίων πέντε

καὶ γράμματα περὶ τοῦ παρασχεθῆναι

10 χόρτον κεκομίσθαι Φιλιάρχω τῷ

στρατηγῷ παρόντι γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ

πρίγκιπος. ἵν' οὖν προνοήσῃ τοῦ

ἀποσταλήνα[ι] ἔ[ν]ταῦθα χόρτον γρά-

φω σοι. ἀλλὰ εὐθέως ποιήσῃ

15 ἀποσταλήναι ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὴν αἰ-

τίαν ταύτην δόξωσιν τι μέμφεσθαι[ι].

ἔρρωτό μοι.

3 l. συγκάθεδρος

5 ἡμᾶς: η remade

12 ἵν

15 ἵνα

'To my lord (brother?) Apollonius Besarion sends greetings. The assessor of the former(?) epistrategus together with an *officialis* came to us and said that animals of the *princeps* of the prefect were here to the number of fifteen and that five trusses of hay were needed for them, and that a letter written by the *princeps* concerning the provision of the hay had been received by Philiarachus the strategus who was present. I am writing to you so that you may see to it that the hay is sent here. Get it sent straight away so that they may not think of blaming us in any way on this account.

'Farewell, I pray.'

1 There need not be anything but a blank space between  $\mu[\text{ou}]$  and  $\text{A}[\text{πολλωνίω}]$ . If there was something, the likeliest possibilities are  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\text{πατρί}$ , and  $\text{υίω}$ , see F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter* 33-4. Of these  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omega}$  is the most likely, because the letter has every appearance of being from one official to a colleague.

2 In XII 1413 16 of AD 270-5 a man named Besarion is nominated to an *arche* at Oxyrhynchus and may be identical with Besarion in this text. Cf. also the herald mentioned in XXII 2338 70 in year 4 of Probus.

3 *συνκάθεδρος*. The only occurrence of this word in texts from Egypt known to me is in SB I 2253, also from Oxyrhynchus. This is an ostracon of Byzantine date, not published in full but described as instructions for provision of goods to various officials, among them  $\tau\acute{\omega}$  *συνκάθεδρω* (note also that one recipient is a *πρώκιπι*). A *συνκάθεδρος* of the epistrategus is no doubt to be understood as an assessor who would assist him when he was presiding over a trial in his judicial capacity, see *LSJ* s.v. and Thomas, op. cit., 132.

The word is also found in a verse inscription from Cilicia republished by J. F. Gilliam in *ZPE* 13 (1974) 147-50, in which a certain Conon is described at one point in his career as *συνκάθεδρον Θήβης Νειλωΐδος ἡγεμονῆος*. The original editors (G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968* 75) dated the inscription in the second century, but Gilliam argues persuasively that it belongs in the fourth century and that the post thus referred to is assessor of the *praeses* of the Thebaid. Such assessors were common by the sixth century, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* 500-1, but it is interesting to have a reference to one as early as the date of our papyrus.

*ἀπαλλαγέντος*. The vagueness of the word leaves the meaning obscure in the absence of any help from the context. Are we to take it to mean that the epistrategus had died (cf. *LSJ* s.v. B II 2), or had been dismissed from office (ibid. A I 3), or had simply gone away?

5 *ἔφησεν*. On the form see XLIII 3129 3-4 n.

6 *τοῦ πρίγκιπος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος*. No doubt this *princeps* is the head of the staff of the prefect of Egypt, presumably a *princeps officii* in the sense familiar in the fourth century after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, and well known from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, cf. XIV 1637 10 n. For the later *princeps officii* see R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (1920), 120-4, E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* ii (1949) 124, 711 n. 6, and A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (1964), index s.v., and esp. 563-6. As is well known, from the time of Augustus onwards governors frequently had detached soldiers acting as their staffs, soldiers who could be used for a variety of purposes. For the relationship between these detached soldiers and the later officials see in particular A. H. M. Jones, *Studies in Roman Government and Law* (1960) 151-75, esp. 166-8, who stresses that the *officia* of the provincial governors recorded in the *Notitia* show obvious affinities with the *officia* of the time of the principate. Professor J. F. Gilliam, who has been kind enough to discuss the problem with me, remarks 'your *princeps* . . . was presumably a detached legionary, heading the governor's *officium*, hence an important person' (cf. further A. von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung* (2nd ed. rev. B. Dobson 1967) 98).

7 *οἷς*. The reading must be accounted very probable; *καί* cannot be read. For the survival of the use of infinitives in relative clauses in *Oratio Obliqua* see Mayser, *Grammatik* ii 3, 109 f.

8 *μανδακίων*. Cf. VII 1049 3 n.

10 *Φιλίαρχω*. The writing suggests a date in the late third century so that there is no reason to doubt that Philiarachus is to be identified with the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome whose full name was Aurelius Philiarachus also called Horion and who is attested in office between 21 May 284 and 12 (?) June 286; see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 182 (no. 104). Whitehorne gives as the latest date for a predecessor 7 November 280 and as the earliest for a successor 19 September 287.

3571. DECLARATION CONCERNING *Metallarii*

A 9/8(B)

11.3 × 24.7 cm

6 October 286?

A systates declares to the strategus of the Heracleopolite that as ordered by the prefect he has carried out a search for runaway mineworkers, with negative results. The papyrus is of special value for its information on the prefect concerned, Peregrinus, see 8 n.

Composed of six joining fragments which leave a lacuna in the centre (10-13); supplements in 11-12 are hazardous, but the general sense is clear. The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίω [. . .], νει γενο(μένω) ὑπομν(ηματογράφω)

[στρατηγ]ῶι Ἡρακλεοπολίτου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Παθερμουθίου

[Α]νουβίωνος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως

5 [ς]υεστάτου ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλωνίου

τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) καὶ β (ἔτους).

τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος

Βελλικίου Περεγρείνου κελεύσαν-

10 τος ὅστε τοὺς ἀποδράντας μεταλ-

λικοὺς ἀναζη[τη]θῆναι, ἀναγ-

καίως δ[ιὰ πάσης τῆ]ς πόλεως

ἀναζητητέα[ς ε. 3] νυκτοστρα-

τήγου κα[ὶ τ]ῶ ἐπισημήσαντι

15 μαγνίφερει Κρονάμωνι προσ-

φωνῶ τοιοῦτους μὴ εὐρηκένα[ι]

ἐνταῦθα.

(m. 2.) [(ἔτους)] γς' Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ βς' Μαξιμιανοῦ

τῶν κυρίων [ἡμ]ῶν Σεβαστῶν, Ἀθῦ[ρ]ι'.

(m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Παθερμούθι[ος]

20 ἐπιδέδωκα.

1 γενο-, υπομν- 2 Faint traces of ink before ]ωι, insufficient to confirm suggested [στρατηγ]ῶι  
6 γς', βς' 9 l. ὅστε 10-11 ανα' καιως 13 l. ἐπισημήσαντι 14 l. μαγνίφερει  
Κρονάμωνι 20 Second δ of ἐπιδέδωκα corr. from ω

'To Aurelius [ ]nes, ex-hypomnemotographus, strategus of the Heracleopolite, from Aurelius Pathermuthius son of Anubion, from Heracleopolis, systates of the district of Apollonius for the present 3rd and 2nd year. My lord prefect Bellicius Peregrinus, *vir perfectissimus*, having ordered a search to be made for the



runaway mineworkers, of necessity having searched through the whole(?) city . . . the night-strategus and the visiting image-bearer Kronammon, I declare that we found no such persons here.'

(2nd hand) 'The 3rd year of Diocletian and the 2nd year of Maximian our lords Augusti, Hathyr(?) 10.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Pathermuthius, have presented this.'

1-2 [στρατηγ]ῶν (2). Ex-hypomnematographi serving as strategi are common at this period, cf. J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Proc. XVI Congr. Pap.* (1981) p. 428, 3569 3 and n. The strategus is new; his closest attested predecessor is Aurelius Serenus, in office c. 282-4, and no later strategus is recorded. See G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 154.

The form of abbreviation of ὑπομνηματογράφω is not clear (cf. app. crit.): the right foot of nu appears to curve up to the right and loop, with the loop crossed by a horizontal. For a succinct treatment of the problem of the localization of the hypomnematographus see J. R. Rea, *P. Oxy. XL*, pp. 31-2, cf. 3568 introd. On Rea's preferred explanation, that the post was an extramural one for Alexandrians, an ex-hypomnematographus would be singularly well qualified to serve as strategus.

5 If the month is correctly read in 18, this text (6 October 286) antedates PSI III 164 (10 May 287) which was formerly the earliest known evidence for the systates. See XLVI 3295 introd. For the office and duties of the systates see P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil* 30-45, with the modifications in XLIII 3137 introd. The systates provided by the tribe currently providing liturgists (cf. PSI 1232 cited below) had responsibility for the whole city, and the present document may illustrate this (cf. 11). For the relationship of tribes to ἀμφοδα see E. G. Turner, *HSCP* 79 (1975) 17<sup>60</sup>. XLVI 3301 shows systatae reporting the results of a similar if less physical search. As (supposedly) here, that report is made to the strategus in response to orders from the prefect.

For the ἀμφοδον Ἀπολλωνίου in Heracleopolis cf. especially PSI XII 1232. 3-4, *εὐστάτου τοῦ νυνὶ λειτουργοῦντος ἀμφοδου Ἀπολλωνίου*, and BGU III 958 c 12 (A. Calderini, *Dizionario* I part II, p. 153).

8 Bellicius Peregrinus. His *nomen* is new information. (The identification with Iucundius Peregrinus, XXII 2343 17 n., with N. Lewis, *BASP* 13 (1976) 165 and G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 89<sup>2</sup>, may now be dropped; see too C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie*, pp. 40-1.) He was known already as prefect from XXII 2343 17, where he is given as the author of an ἐπιστολή ἡγεμονική, which established him without much doubt as a prefect even though the title was not attached to his name. No date for his ἐπιστολή survived. The new text now anchors him to 286/7, and possibly to 6 October 286 if 18 is correctly read. The question of his predecessor is complex and need not be discussed here. His next known successor is C. Valerius Pompeianus, whose earliest attestation is Sept./Oct. 287 (VI 888). See G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 319.

8 ff. *κελεύσαντος ὥστε* (οστε pap.) with infinitive. For the construction see L. Radermacher, *NT Gramm<sup>2</sup>* (1925), p. 197; B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri* §774.

9-10 ἀποδράντας μεταλλικοῦς. The papyrus leaves us in the dark about what mines are in question and therefore about the nature of these μεταλλικοί—are they strictly *condemnati ad metallum* or do they belong to a different category? That the harsh conditions of work in the mines led to flight on the part of those who were not strictly prisoners, and to efforts by the authorities to round them up, is clear from the constitutions in C. Th. x. 19, esp. x 19. 5. See U. Täckholm, *Stud. ü. d. Bergbau der röm. Kaiserzeit* (Uppsala 1937), esp. 149-56.

12-13 For the *νυκτοστράτηγος* see J. D. Thomas, *CE* 44 (1969) 347-52. The present text now provides the earliest datable metropolitane example (contrast Thomas 351). What occupied the limited space before the title is a puzzle, especially in view of the dative in 13-14; possibly ἄμα (which can take either case, though hardly both), or *μετά* or *σύν* (with a more blatant error of case). P. J. Sijpesteijn, *P. L. Bat. XVII*, pp. 129-32, gives a survey of the office, but his conclusions regarding its chronology and distribution may need modification in the light of Thomas's article.

14 For the spelling *μαγνίφερ* (= *imaginifer*) cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2. 297; cf. too SB V 8430 (ἡμαγνίφερ). ἐπιζημιέσαντι (13: 1. ἐπιδημιέσαντι) suggests that the *imaginifer* was attached to some army unit or to the staff of a non-local official and was only temporarily in Heracleopolis, no doubt specifically to ensure the search was made.

*Κρονάμων*. *Κρονάμμων* is recorded in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückl. Wörterbuch*, and in W. Pape and G. E. Benseler, *Wört. d. gr. Eigennamen*, but neither form is in *NB* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

## 3572. RECEIPT FOR SALARY

62 6B.77/J(1-3)a

8.3 × 23.5 cm

Third century

A receipt for wages, given to a *practor* of metropolitan grain revenues by his *grammateus*. On these subordinates see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 203 and 418-19, and SB IV 7375 (discussed below, 9-11 n.).

The back is blank.

Αὐρήλιος Θώνις Ὠρείωνος  
 γραμματεὺς πρακτορεί-  
 ας *αιτικῶν μητροπολιτι-*  
*κῶν λημμάτων ἄνω*  
 5 *τοπαρχίας Μερμέρθων*  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρώδη Πλουτί-  
 ωνος πράκτορει τῆς  
 αὐτῆς χαίρειν.  
 ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ ὑπὲρ  
 10 λόγου *καλαρίου ἐπὶ λόγου*  
*δραχμὰς ἑκατόν, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρ.*  
 (ἔτους) ε' Φαῶφι ιβ.

3 l. *μητροπολιτικῶν*7 l. *πράκτορι*

'Aurelius Thonis, son of Horion, *grammateus* of the collection of grain revenues from metropolitans in Mermertha in the Upper Toparchy, to Aurelius Herodes, son of Plution, *practor* of the same, greetings. I have received from you on account of pay, one hundred drachmas on account, total 100 drachmas. Year 5, Phaophi 12.'

2-4 The same title occurs also in IX 1196 (AD 211/12), SB IV 7375 (AD 222-35), and P. Leit. 13 (mid iii AD).

9-11 In SB IV 7375 four phylarchs, who have nominated a *πράκτωρ αιτικῶν μητροπολιτικῶν λημμάτων*, also nominate his *grammateus*, and supervise payment of the latter. But SB 7375 is from Hermopolis (see P. Mertens, *Les Services* 23), not Oxyrhynchus. Furthermore the *practor* involved may have been trying to escape service by alleging illiteracy (see Wilcken, *Archiv* 9 (1930) 244), so there may be an element of compulsion in SB 7375 which is lacking here. Certainly 3572 suggests a much more informal arrangement, with the *practor* himself paying his scribe by instalments, rather than by a lump sum in advance via a third party as a trustee. It is difficult to imagine that the state would at the same time allow liturgists to undertake private arrangements to hire substitutes (see P. Leit. 13, Introd.), yet insist on nominating their subordinates (as S. Eitrem and H. Holst, *Klio* 22 NF 4 (1929) 227, suggested in *ed. pr.* of SB 7375). SB 7375 then perhaps represents an unusual case, while 3572 is a more typical example of the relationship between *practor* and *grammateus*.

10 ἐπὶ λόγου. Regularly of partial payments, Preisigke *WB* s.v. 17(c). 1000 drachmas were paid as a year's wages to the *grammateus* in SB 7375, and that included the cost of paper (ll. 17-18 corr. BL VI). The present payment is therefore likely to be an instalment, perhaps for a month's work.

<sup>12</sup> Both Thonis and Herodes have the *nomen* Aurelius indicating a date after 212. N. Lewis, *ICS* s.v. *πρακτορεία, πράκτωρ*, notes 265 as the latest date attested for this liturgy. Possible fifth regnal years within this period are 221/2, 225/6, 241/2, 247/8, and 257/8.

## 3573. REPORT OF A STRATEGUS

39 5B.120/M(1-2)a

14.5 × 12.2 cm

c. 300

The writer of this document, Aurelius Zenagenes, a well-known strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, reports the dispatch to Apollonopolis (presumably Edfu) of an amount in excess of thirty thousand pounds of a certain commodity. The name of the commodity is lost in the lacuna in l. 9 but was very probably meat, see the note. The back is blank. Unfortunately damage to the top of the papyrus has robbed us of the name and status of the addressee, though we may be confident that the first line extant was also the first line of the original document. We may also be confident that the addressee was a superior of the strategus and we know that he cannot have been *catholicus* or *procurator Heptanomiaie*, since these officials are mentioned in the document as having authorized the strategus to dispatch the goods. Most probably he was a high official operating in the Thebaid, either the *praeses* or a procurator; see further l. 1 n. No doubt the supplies were being shipped for use by soldiers and our text belongs to the large number of papyri from the late third and early fourth centuries which record shipment of goods along the Nile for military purposes.

The text is referred to in XLII 3031 introd. and as P. Oxy. ined. C in J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Part 2: The Roman Epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. VI, 1982), chap. 7, where it is discussed with reference to Annius Diogenes, *procurator Heptanomiaie*, mentioned in l. 5. It is quite possible that the present papyrus is the earliest reference to a *procurator Heptanomiaie* and it is at any rate a plausible hypothesis that this procuratorship replaced the office of epistrategus of the Heptanomia. Our text might thus give a *terminus ante quem* for the disappearance of this epistrategus. Unfortunately it cannot be accurately dated, even though the three officials who occur in it are all known from other texts: (1) Aurelius Zenagenes is recorded as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite in 297/8 (probably) and on 16 August 299 in the list by J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 183, no. 112, and has subsequently been attested in office on 17 July 299 (P. Laur. III 67) and in 300 (XLVI 3301); (2) Pomponius Domnus was still *magister rei privatae* on 19 September 298 (P. Beatty Panop. 1. 337-41) but was *catholicus* by 1 August 299 (IX 1204 12) and held this office until at least 1 March 300 (P. Beatty Panop. 2. 265-70); he had been succeeded by Valerius Euethius by 23 September 302 (P. Cornell 20); (3) Annius Diogenes is attested in only one text which bears an exact date: PSI X 1125 of 13 April 302. Our papyrus refers in l. 10 to the diatyposis of year 15/14/7 = 298/9. In the reference to a second diatyposis in l. 14 the year number is lost and we are not entitled to assume that the following year 299/300 is meant. We can, however, accept 298/9 as

the earliest year to which our text can belong. For a *terminus ante quem* we have nothing more definite than the date at which Valerius Euethius was *catholicus*, 23 September 302.

[ c. 10 letters ] . [ c. 20 letters ] . [ . . . ] δρ. [ c. 6 letters  
 Αὐρήλιος Ζηναγεν. . . [ στρατη ] γός Ὁξυρυγχείτου χαίρειν.  
 ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου  
 καθολικροῦ Πονπωνίου Δόμνου γραφ[ . . . ] ἔϊξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ διαση-  
 5 μοτάτου ἐπιτρόπου Ἐπτανομίας Ἄννιου Διογένους ἐνεβαλόμην  
 εἰς τὰ τέως εὐρεθέντα πλοῖα δύο καὶ ἀπέστειλα εἰς τὴν Ἄπολλῶνος  
 πόλει <ν> δι(ὰ) Αὐρηλίωιν Διογέν[ο]υς Δ[ι]ορκόρου ἐξ(ηγητ ) καὶ  
 Ὀρίωνος  
 Κλαυδίω Ἀπ. λλ. . . . τῶ καὶ Ἰσιδώρω κομητοῦ ἀμφετέρων  
 ἐπιμελητῶν [ . . . . ] αλιστου ἀπ[ὸ] μὲν θείας διατυπώσεως  
 10 ιε[ς] καὶ ιδ[ς] καὶ ζ[ς] λίτρ[α]ς Ἱταλικῆς διςμυρία{ι}ς διςχειλιάς ὀκτα-  
 κοσίας ἐβδομήκον[τα π]έντε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑκατοστῶν δώ[δε]κα  
 λίτραι διςχειλιάς ἐ[πτακο]σίαις τεσσαράκοντα πέντε γίνονται  
 λίτραι διςμύρ[ι]αι [πεντ]ακισχίλιαι ἑξακόσιν εἴκοσι ἀπὸ δὲ τείας  
 διατυπώσεως [ c. 9 ] λίτρας πεντακισχιλίας ἑξακοσίας  
 15 πεντήκοντ[α . . . . .] καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑκατοστῶν δώδεκα λίτρας Ἱτα-  
 λικῆς ἑξακο[σίας ἐβδομήκοντα] ὀκτῶ . μ. γ(ίνονται) λί(τραι)  
 ἑξακισχίλιαι  
 τριακ[ό]σαι τ[ριάκοντα] τέσσαρες. . . ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λίτρας Ἱταλικῆς  
 [ τριςμυρίας χιλίας ἑνακοσίας ] πεντήκοντ[α] τέσσαρες  
 [ . . . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . ] ραφῶ . . . .

2 Probably οξυρυγχείτου 4 l. Πονπωνίου 7 l. πόλιν δι| εἰ| 8 l. ἀμφοτέρων  
 10 l. διςχειλιάς 12 l. λίτρας διςχειλιάς, γίνονται 13 l. πεντακισχίλιαι, θείας 16 μ. γ, δ

'To . . . , Aurelius Zenagenes, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, sends greetings. In conformity with the letter written by the procurator of the Heptanomia Annius Diogenes, *vir perfectissimus*, according to the instructions of my lord the *catholicus* Pomponius Domnus, *vir perfectissimus*, I have loaded into the two boats which happened to be at present available and dispatched to Apollonopolis by the agency of Aurelii Diogenes son of Dioscorus, former (?) exegetes, and Horion son of Claudius Apelles (?) also called Isidorus, cosmetes, both supervisors, from the imperial *delegatio* of year 15 and 14 and 7 twenty-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-five Italian pounds of best quality meat (?) and, in respect of the twelve per cent, two thousand seven hundred and forty-five pounds, which makes twenty-five thousand six hundred and twenty pounds, and from the imperial *delegatio* of year . . . five thousand six hundred and fifty . . . , and in respect of the twelve per cent six hundred and seventy-eight . . . Italian pounds, which makes six thousand three hundred and thirty-four . . . , making a grand total sent of thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-four . . . Italian pounds . . .'

1 The reading at the right is compatible with  $\delta\sigma\varsigma$ , perhaps with  $\Theta\eta\beta[\alpha\lambda]\delta\sigma\varsigma$  (beta is very difficult, but the traces can just be interpreted as the foot of the letter if we suppose that there is also an apostrophe between gamma and chi in  $\text{'}\text{Οξυρρυγγέιτον}$  in the next line). If this is correct, the strategus was no doubt writing to either the *praeses* of the Thebaid or the procurator in charge of one of the divisions of the Thebaid. If the reference in l. 6 is to Edfu, the appropriate procurator would have been the one in charge of the Upper Thebaid. The lacuna at the right is sufficient for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , probably even for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ . We know from P. Beatty Panop. 1 and 2 that in 298–300 the procurator was a certain Philo. The two slight traces remaining and the spacing would accommodate  $\text{Α[ύρηλιω Φίλων]ϛ}$ .

2  $\text{Ζηναγενϛ}$ . The strategus is well known (see introd.) and his name was  $\text{Ζηναγένης}$ . It hardly seems possible that this is what is written in our text: after  $\text{ζηναγεν}$  we appear to have  $\epsilon\iota$ , as though the scribe put the dative by mistake, but either this has been altered (though it is very difficult to read an eta) or it has been fouled by a descender from the line above.

4 For Pomponius Domnus see the introduction.

5 For the procurator *Heptanomia* Annius Diogenes see the introduction and the texts cited in XLII 3031 introd.

6  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\eta}\gamma\tau\alpha\ \pi\lambda\omicron\iota\alpha\ \delta\upsilon\omicron$ . The strategus seems to be saying that he commandeered for his transport the two ships which he found available at the appropriate time in the Oxyrhynchite nome. If this interpretation is correct, the use of  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  is unexpected. It is instructive to compare its use in the contemporary P. Beatty Panop. (l. 101; 2. 95, 99, 139), where the editor translates 'for the time being'; cf. also VII 1056<sub>4</sub> and P. Lond. III 984 (p. 237) (both 4th cent.).

6–7  $\text{Ἀπολλώνος πόλει}\langle\upsilon\rangle$ . This city when mentioned without qualification ought to be Apollonopolis Magna = Edfu. It was in the Upper Thebaid and is known to have been the location of a detachment of Legio II Traiana at precisely this date (P. Beatty Panop. 2. 181).

8  $\text{Κλαυδίου Ἀπ. λλ. . . .}$ . Probably not  $\text{Ἀπολλωνίου}$  *vel sim.*, as the letter after the double lambda can hardly be omega. Iota is possible, but  $\text{Ἀπολλωνίου}$  is too long. Since the third letter of the name looks more like epsilon than omicron, we should perhaps read  $\text{Ἀπελλήγους}$ ; the name is attested in an Oxyrhynchite text of 316, I 53 3.

9 After  $\text{ἐπιμελητῶν}$  must have stood the name of the commodity being dispatched. The reading  $\text{ἄλιςτον}$  is apparently certain.  $\text{ἀλιερός}$  exists, meaning 'salted'; if this is what is intended here, the commodity must have been meat. But the word does not occur elsewhere in papyrological Greek and it seems much more probable that the writer intended  $\kappa\lambda\langle\lambda\rangle\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ . The phrase  $\text{οἴνου καλλίστου}$  occurs, see *Wörterbuch* s.v.  $\text{καλός}$ , but  $\text{λίτρα}$  is regularly a dry measure and there seems to be no parallel for its being used as a measure of wine. The two items which occur with great frequency in our sources for this period measured in  $\text{λίτραι}$  and being shipped both up and down the Nile are chaff and meat. Both occur in the large quantities which are indicated in the present papyrus, but fractions, which appear to occur in 16, are much more frequently encountered with reference to meat than with reference to chaff. Both  $\text{ἀχύρου}$  and  $\text{κρέως}$  as they would be written in this hand would take up approximately the same amount of space and either restoration could be accommodated in the lacuna. The chief reason for preferring  $\text{κρέως}$  is that it is much easier to see the relevance of  $\text{καλλίστου}$  as applied to meat than as applied to chaff.  $\text{κρέως}$  is frequently followed by a defining genitive, but it seems always to be a genitive describing the type of meat, e.g. 'pork' ( $\text{χοιρείου}$ ).

10  $\text{λίτρ[αϛ] Ἰταλικός}$ . From the use of the adjective here and in ll. 15/16 and 17, but its omission in ll. 12, 13, 14, and 16, we should no doubt conclude that the writer intended no distinction between  $\text{λίτραι}$  unqualified and  $\text{λίτραι Ἰταλικαί}$ . Dr Richard Duncan-Jones writes: 'I understand *litrai Italikai* as the standard Roman pound of approximately 323 grams (my *Econ. Rom. Empire*<sup>2</sup> (1982) 369–70). There should not be any distinction between this transaction and others in units measured in pounds not designated as Italic. The occurrence of precise terminology at this date seems to be part of a tightening up of measures under Diocletian which has faded out a few decades later.'

11  $\text{ὑπὲρ ἑκατοστῶν δώ}\langle\kappa\rangle\text{'δέκα}$ . The writer has put delta over the first kappa of  $\text{δωκεκα}$ , but has omitted to delete the erroneous kappa. Twelve per cent is a very unusual additional charge and is not mentioned at all in the list given in A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* (Stud. Amst. XII, 1978) 17–19. The only parallel I have noted is P. Col. VII 137. 16, where it is a surcharge on wheat.

14 Since  $\text{καί}$  is written in such a way in this hand as to take up no more than the space of a single letter, there would be just enough room after  $\text{διατυπώσεως}$  to accommodate three figures with the spiral sign for  $\text{ἔτους}$ , separated (*bis*) by  $\text{καί}$ .

15 ff. The amount recorded in ll. 14–15 must lie between 5650 and 5659 pounds, so that the 12 per cent in l. 16 must be 678 pounds plus a fraction (see the next note). Since the grand total in l. 18 ends in 54 (with the possible addition of a fraction at the start of l. 19) and is made up of the 25,620 in l. 13 and the amount in ll. 16/17, this latter amount should be 6334 and the grand total 31,954. It should be pointed out, however, that  $\text{τριεμυρίας χιλίας ἑνακοσίας}$  is rather short for the size of the lacuna in l. 18 and conversely  $\text{τρίμικοντα τέσσαρες}$  is long for the lacuna in the preceding line. Furthermore one would expect a fraction after  $\text{τέσσαρες}$  in l. 17 (unless the two fractions in ll. 15 and 16 add up to a whole number). The figure for payment from the second *delegatio* (ll. 14/15) must then be either 5,655 or 5,656, depending on whether or not it was followed by a fraction and on the sum produced by this fraction and that following 678 in the next line.

16 There is a horizontal flat dash over all the writing between  $\text{δικτώ}$  and  $\text{λί(τραι)}$ . What immediately precedes  $\text{λί(τραι)}$  is presumably to be read as gamma, i.e.  $\text{γίνονται}$ , and the writing preceding this as fractions expressed as numerals rather than written out as words. However, the traces do not suit any of the expected fraction signs, nor the symbol for 'ounces'.

17 ] . . .  $\text{ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό}$ . At the start  $\text{γίνονται}$  cannot be read. ]  $\text{τάς}$  and, less probably,  $\text{ᾶ]εττε}$  are possible, but the construction is unclear.

19 ]  $\text{ραφω}$ . Presumably  $\text{γ]ράφω}$ .

#### 3574. PETITION TO A *Praeses Herculiae*

29 4B.48/G(6–7)<sup>a</sup>

23 × 24 cm

c. 314–18

The petitioner came from the environs of Eleutheropolis, a place described as being 'of the New Arabia'. This is potentially of some interest for the organization of the provinces of the empire at this period, and also for the date of the Verona List, see 3–4 n.

His adversary came from a place called Bubastus. This is the name of a city in the Eastern Delta, which was the capital of a nome before the municipalization of Egypt, and also the name of a village in the Fayum, see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* ii s.v. *Βούβαστος*. At this time the village was in the province of Aegyptus Herculia, along with the whole of the former Arsinoite nome. The city was in that province too according to the view of A. H. M. Jones, who believed that Herculia covered the area later called Augustamnica, consisting of the cities of Middle Egypt and those of the Eastern Delta, see *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> 336, 489 n. 50, 3576 10–12 n., 3577 12 n. This was a revision of the old theory that Herculia was confined to Middle Egypt, but it was reached by argument and inference, without unambiguous evidence, and it was treated with reserve by J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 48–53. If we could be sure that the city is meant, this document would be important evidence in support of Jones. Unfortunately we cannot be quite sure, though the circumstances of this case seem to point to the city rather than the village.

The petitioner gave the man from Bubastus a guarantee for a sum of money which should have been paid by a person from Scenae extra Gerus, which lay in the Eastern Delta like the city of Bubastus, see 4–5 n. This person failed to make payment, and the man from Bubastus held in distraint a quantity of wine belonging to the petitioner even though the petitioner was willing to pay. The wine was spoiled and the petitioner here asks the governor of Herculia to assign a judge to his case. The fact that Scenae extra Gerus lay in the Eastern Delta inclines me to suppose that it is the city of Bubastus which is meant, and that Aegyptus Herculia covered the area of the later Augustamnica.

There is no obvious reason why the document should turn up at Oxyrhynchus, which is known to have lain in Herculia, but it may be that the petitioner travelled also to Oxyrhynchus, see 3-4 n.

A narrow strip of papyrus was passed through a vertical slit in the left margin near the top and remains there knotted in position. This was the ancient equivalent of a paper clip, see XXXIII 2673 introd. (p. 106), but here nothing is now attached. A third example, also deprived of the attached document or documents, is illustrated in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, no. 36a.

The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίω Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἡγουμέ[νω

Αἰγύπτου Ἡρκουλείας

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Μάλχου Εἰωνάθου ἀπὸ ὀρίων Ἐλευθεροπόλεως τῆς

Νέας Ἀραβίας. ἐνεγνησάμην, κύριε, Σαιβᾶν ἀπὸ [C]κηνῶν τῶν

ἐκτὸς Γέρρουσ παρὰ Διδύμῳ Περδίκᾳ ἀπὸ Βουβάσθου ἀργύρια,

ἀλλά, ὡς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο ἐκεῖνος, ἐπεσχέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ

Διδύμου οἰνικός μου κέραμος, ὃς καὶ παραμείνας ἐπεὶ πολλὸν

χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐποχῇ εἰς φανλότητα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτράπη{ν} καὶ

ζημίας αἴτι[ός] μοι γέγονεν. ὑπὸ γὰρ σφραγείδας αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχα-

νευ καὶ τὴν κλεῖν εἶχεν παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ μοι τότε ἐπειγομένῳ

ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἀργύρια καὶ δέξασθαι τὰ ἔμαυτοῦ, τοῦτο ποιεῖν οὐ

συνεχώρει. ἐπεὶ τοῖνον δίκαιόν ἐστιν περιωθῆναί μοι τὸν

οἶνον τὸν ἀπολωλότα, ἀξιῶ δοῦναι μοι δικαστὴν κατ' αὐ-

τοῦ ὄν ἐὰν τὸ μεγαλειόν σου δοκεμάσῃ. (vac.) διεντύχει.

15 (m. 2) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μάλχος ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρ(ήλιος) . . [. . .] . . ρς ἔγρ(αῖφα)

ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γρ(άμματα) μ(ή) εἰδότη(ος).

(vac.)

(vac.)

(m. 3) α' . . . . . [ . . . ].

2 l. Ἡρκουλίαν 3 l. Ἰωνάθου 4 l. Ἀραβίας, ἡγνησάμην 5 l. Περδίκκα, Βουβάσθου  
7 l. ἐπί 9 l. ζημίας ὑπο 1. σφραγείδας 14 l. δοκεμάσῃ διεντύχει corr. from διεντ 15 αῖρς,  
αῖρς, εἰρς, γρς, μειδο<sup>7</sup>

'To Aurelius Antonius, *vir perfectissimus*, *praeses* of Aegyptus Herculia, from Aurelius Malchus son of Ionathes from the confines of Eleutheropolis of the New Arabia. My lord, I guaranteed a sum of money on behalf of Saebas from Scenae extra Gerus to Didymus son of Perdiccas from Bubastus, but since the former would not make payment, a quantity of wine jars belonging to me was distrained by Didymus and, having remained a long time in distraint, afterwards turned rotten and has become a cause of loss to me. For it was under his seals and he was holding the key in his possession and though at that time I was eager to pay him the money and recover my property he would not permit me to do this. Since, therefore, it is just that my ruined

wine should not be lost to me, I request that you give me as judge against him whomsoever your highness may approve. Farewell.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Malchus, submitted the petition. I, Aurelius . . ., wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

1 For Aurelius Antonius see *PLRE* i 77 s.v. Antonius (4), J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 255. His attested dates run from 27 December 315 to 1 April 316, but this document may date from any time between the creation of Aegyptus Herculia, probably in 314 or 315, see Lallemand, *op. cit.* p. 49 n. 5, C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets* 98, P. Cair. Isid. 73 introd., and the first appearance of the next known *praeses*, Valerius Ziper, in 318, probably by 13 April, certainly by 16 July, see Lallemand, *op. cit.* 255.

3-4 For the only known Eleutheropolis see *RE* V 2353-4, Suppl. XIII 423, with maps 417-18, 437-8. Roads from Ascalon and Gaza to Jerusalem joined at this point. The expression ἀπὸ ὀρίων Ἐλευθεροπόλεως presumably means that Malchus came from a locality in the city's territory, which was large, see A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> 278-9. He obviously does not claim citizenship of Eleutheropolis.

The designation *Νέα Ἀραβία* is unknown elsewhere. It may reasonably be linked with the Verona List, which records two provinces of Arabia—*Arabia*, *item Arabia*—as well as the short-lived province of Aegyptus Herculia, which lasted from 314 or 315, see 1 n., at least till 324, see XLV 3261 for the *praeses Herculiae* Sabinianus still functioning in that year, but was probably abolished by Constantine soon after his defeat of Licinius in September, 324.

In *ZPE* 16 (1975) 275-8 T. D. Barnes concluded that the Verona List was not compiled at a single date from the argument that Herculia could not be contemporaneous with two provinces of Arabia, because Eusebius, writing before 313 of an event of 307, attributed the mines at Phaeno, south of the Dead Sea, to Palaestina, indicating that the southern part of Arabia had already been joined to a province of Palaestina by at least the later of these two dates. The papyrus seems to show that there was a province of Arabia Nova which was contemporaneous with Aegyptus Herculia and which extended surprisingly far to the north-west. It is impossible that Phaeno, well to the south, should be in Palaestina while Eleutheropolis was in an Arabia. Taking the Verona List and the papyrus together we may well be tempted to conclude that there were indeed two Arabias during this period. If a province called New Arabia contained Eleutheropolis, it would probably have consisted of the west and south of the region, centred at Petra, while the other Arabia, possibly called Old Arabia, would have comprised the east and north, centred at Bostra.

When I showed a draft of this edition to Professor Barnes he was unwilling to accept this conclusion. On the advice of Professor G. W. Bowersock he suggested that ἡ *Νέα Ἀραβία* was the name of an Egyptian province and that Eleutheropolis was an unknown Egyptian place. This view has since been set out in his book *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* 204-5, 213-15, cf. 151 (Nova Arabia placed as if it were a province of Egypt), 211 (likewise). An unknown province or name of a province is not impossible; the province of Mercuriana, which seems to be an alternative name for Herculia, is known only from the papyri, see CPR V 7. 7-8 n. The province of Aegyptus Iovia was known only from the Verona List, see now LI 3619. An unknown Egyptian site name is even easier to envisage. However, the man's Semitic name, Malchus son of Ionathes, favours the conclusion that it is the well-known Eleutheropolis in Palestine that is meant.

Also relevant to the problem is XIV 1722, a fragment of an agreement between a *princeps officii* and certain persons of various origins who were temporarily resident in Oxyrhynchus—καταμέ[νοντες ἐν τῇ λαμ(πρῶ) καὶ λαμ(προτάτῃ)] Ὀξυρρυχιτῶ[ν πόλει] (5). The reference to the *princeps* runs: πρί[νκιπ] τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγουμένου Αἰγύπτου (1). It has been pointed out that ἡγούμενος is the title of a *praeses*, not a prefect, as the first editors thought, and that therefore the line can be restored at the end with Αἰγύπτου Ἡρκουλίαν, cf. 1-2 here, and the document can be assigned to the period 314-25, see BL V 79, citing C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, 104 n. 1. One of the parties came ἀπὸ Συρίας Ἐλευθεροπόλεως (3). The remains before ἀπό are of a genitive ending, possibly that of a patronymic, [μίρου], and a photograph shows that [μάθρου] can hardly be read, so that it is not necessary that 1722 and 3574 should concern the same man. Note, however, that the remains could be from a patronymic on the lines of Αὐρηλίος Μάλχος Ἰωνάθου τοῦ Ἀνα]μίρου, among other things.

In spite of the spelling and the oddity of the expression there can hardly be any doubt that 1722 refers to Eleutheropolis in Palestine and that it is evidence for contact between Eleutheropolis and Oxyrhynchus at the same period as that of our text. The Greek should perhaps be translated 'from Syria, (more precisely) Eleutheropolis'.

Since 1722 and 3574 are of the same short period AD 314/15-325, it may be argued that the differences in

spelling and expression are indications that the documents refer to two different places, one in 'Syria', the other in 'New Arabia'. If this were correct, we should have to seek another location for 'New Arabia'. One possibility is suggested by a look at a map of the area, e.g. *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, opp. p. 295, namely the former nome called Arabia, its metropolis now ranking as a city, see *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, 298-9, 314, 343, 346. This was located just to the south and east of Bubastus and included Phacusae and Phagroriopolis, one of which may have been called Arabia at this time. It is certainly a possibility that this region could have been called 'New Arabia' as the result of some reorganization in the late third or early fourth century and that it could have included an unknown place called Eleutheropolis, but it is difficult to imagine that this area was important enough to rank as a province, unless we were reluctantly to follow the old view which confines Aegyptus Herculia to Middle Egypt, see introd., and to regard New Arabia as a province consisting of the whole of the north-east of Egypt. On the other hand if New Arabia is not a province, but merely an area such as a city territory, we have to dissociate it from the two Arabias mentioned in the Verona List.

The evidence is too patchy and confusing for a firm conclusion, but I incline to favour my original view that Eleutheropolis here is the only known place of that name and that it fell at this period in a province called New Arabia which is to be identified with one of the two Arabias of the Verona List. The Semitic name of the petitioner agrees well with an origin from the only known Eleutheropolis. The phrase ἀπὸ ὀρίων Ἐλευθεροπόλεως implies that this Eleutheropolis was a place with a considerable territory, which again favours the only known Eleutheropolis over a possible unknown. Contact between Eleutheropolis in Palestine and Oxyrhynchus is already attested. The doubts arising from the geographical names used by Eusebius, from the differences of spelling and wording between 1722 and 3574, and from the existence of a nome called Arabia, seem less weighty.

At any rate we can turn the argument round and say that, since the papyrus suggests that there may have been a new province of Arabia at some time while Herculia was in existence, Professor Barnes's earlier argument against the unity of the Verona List cannot be accepted as decisive, see now also T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 205, 213.

4 ἐνεγεννάμην. For this type of augmentation cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, I<sup>2</sup> ii 110-111.

Καιβάν. The name is unknown and the accent uncertain.

4-5 This place is evidently the same as that given in *Not. Dig.*, Or. xxviii 29 as *Scenas extra Gerasa*, where in a footnote there is a list of variant spellings of the last element in Greek and Latin. After ἐκτός the form Γέρρος here should be the genitive of a third declension neuter Γέρρος. In 3580 1 the form is similar, *Κληνών ἐκτός Γέρρος*. Whether the rho was single or double made little phonetic difference, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 154-5, 156-7. Γέρος, implied by 3580 1, is the form given in Georgius Cyprius (Bib. Teubn., ed. H. Gelzer) 698, where it is followed by Ἰτάγερος or Ἰράγερος (B), which looks like a garbled reference to *Scenae extra Gerasa*. The same applies to Κένα, which follows Γέρος in the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles (Bib. Teubn., ed. A. Burckhardt) 727. 6. In P. Ryl. IV 627. 230-1 Γέρος, like other place names in the same document, is treated as indeclinable: . . . εἰς Γέρος (230), . . . ἀπὸ Γέρος (231). In the published text of P. Ryl. IV 628. 6 we find it with the article, also indeclinable, but with an alpha in the second syllable, ἀπὸ τ[ο]ῦ Γέρος. In the previous line εἰς τὸ Γέρος is restored. A photograph of the papyrus shows that in fact Γέρος was written in l. 6. The same form, which is the only one given in the index to P. Ryl. IV, should be restored in l. 5.

In XLI 2951 13 the words *introitu Gerri Pelusi* occur; the form of the Latin nominative is uncertain.

In P. Alex. 1. 3 it has been suggested that we should restore ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος τῆς πρὸς τοῖς Γέροις, see BL V 3, citing *CE* 41 (1966) 185. The document is of the third century BC, but this does not accord well with the evidence of the form of the name from the fourth century AD, and no Ptolemais is known in the area.

5 Βουβάσθου = Βουβάστου. For the spelling cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 87. For discussion of its location see introd.

16 This note, unread so far, is written in a tiny, very rapid hand. It begins about 14 cm from the left edge of the sheet and stands close to the bottom edge under a depth of about 7 cm of blank papyrus. α', if correct, might stand for ἀντίγραφον, 'copy', but this possibility has not helped to solve the problem of the following traces.

## 3575-3579.

These five papyri date from the early years of the province of Augustamnica. Two of them, 3577 and 3579 are original letters issued from the chancery of its governor and

addressed to local officials in Oxyrhynchus. The appearance of 3577 was designed to be particularly impressive, see Pl. XVII. The less formal but no less authentic 3579, see Pl. XVIII, provides an interesting contrast. The other three items are addressed to Dioscorus, the only person so far known to have held the title of ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης. He may well be the same Dioscorus who appears without title in 3579 and as προπολιτευόμενος in 3577.

Pre-eminent among the matters of detail are the items of new evidence for the extent of the province, see 3576 10-12 n., 3577 12 n.

## 3575. PETITION TO THE OVERSEER OF THE PEACE

40 5B.91/B(1-2)b

11 x 14 cm

28 October-26 November 341

The main outline of the petition is clear in spite of the damage. Its author complained that two persons were dispossessing him from land near the village of Nesmimis and asked that they be restrained.

In several places conjectural readings and restorations have been used for the translation, where they are distinguished by question marks. The wording of them is given in the commentary.

The back of the document is occupied by remains of seven lines of shorthand, much damaged, written across the vertical fibres.

ὑπατέ[ι]α[ς] Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου [καὶ Πετρωνίου

Προβίνου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων) Ἀθῆν [ (day).

Φλαουίω Διοσκώρῳ ἐπὶ [πτη εἰρήνης

᾽Οξυρυγχείτου

5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου ᾽Ωρίωνος Ἡρακλ[ c. 10 letters

α. γῆν κέκτημαι ἐν ἀρούραις δυεὶ περὶ κώ-

μη]ν Νεσμίμιν, ὧν τὴν νομὴν πολλ. . . .

. . . .]. ἐπὶ τοῖς παγεῖσι καὶ συντετίει . ρ. .

. . . .]., ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα τίνι τρόπῳ Κάστωρ . . .

10 . . . .]. . . ἀπὸ κώμης Νεσμίμειος ἐπε

. . . .]. ἔτεμον τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν νομὴν

. . . . .] ἀποκινήσαντες τοὺς

. . . . . τ]ῶν ἀρχέων ὀρίων. διὸ τὰ βιβλί-

α ἐπιδίδω]μι ἀξιῶν μετακληθῆναι αὐ-

2 λαμς

4 l. ᾽Οξυρυγχείτου

8 l. συντετίει

9 l. ἀλλ' οὐκ

13 l. ἀρχαίων

15 τούς καὶ τῆν] δέουσαν κατὰ νόμους ἐπε-  
ξέλευσιν γενέσθ]αι. (vac.)  
] (vac.)  
(m. 2) ..... ] ξ[π]ιδέδωκα.

<sup>1</sup>In the consulship of Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, *viri clarissimi*, Hathyr . . .

<sup>2</sup>To Flavius Dioscorus, overseer of the peace of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Horion son of Heracl. . . .

<sup>3</sup>I own land to the extent of two aruras in the vicinity of the village of Nesmimis, possession of which I have been holding (?) for a long time (?) upon the fixed and agreed ancient (?) boundaries (?), but—I know not for what reason—Castor and . . . from the village of Nesmimis have attacked (?) me (?) and laid the land waste and seized (?) possession, moving . . . the . . . of the ancient boundaries. Therefore I submit the petition, requesting that they be summoned and that the proper legal process against them may take place.<sup>4</sup>

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Horion son of Heracl. . . submitted (the petition).'

<sup>2</sup> Ἀθὺρ [ . The reading is not seriously in doubt, since Hathyr is the only Egyptian month name which begins with alpha. The month ran from 28 October to 26 November inclusive. See 3-4 n. para. 2 for an argument which suggests that this document was written before XII 1559 of 13 November.

<sup>3-4</sup> Φλαουίω Διοσκόρω ἐπόπτη εἰρήνης] Ὁξυρυγχίτου. Cf. 3576, 3578, VI 991, XII 1559, and perhaps P. Harris 65, where the title is restored and no name is given; J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 163. The title has so far appeared only with reference to this person, who evidently held superior police powers extending over the whole nome, cf. P. Turner 42 introd. The suggestion of E. P. Wegener that γρῶς, in XII 1426 4 might conceal a reference to an ἐπόπτης is not correct, see XLIII 3127 4 n.

It now becomes more noticeable that Dioscorus' *nomen* is not always the same, being Flavius in 991 (5 April, AD 341) and 3575 (28 October-26 November, AD 341), Aurelius in 1559 (13 November, AD 341), 3576 (30 November, AD 341), and 3578 (Feb./Mar.?, AD 342). Flavius, the gentile name of the house of Constantine, is a status indication conferred on officials in the employ of the state, see J. G. Keenan, 'The names Flavius and Aurelius as status designations', in *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63, 13 (1974) 283-304. Similar cases of variation have occurred before, see especially XLVI 3306 1 n., 3308-3311 introd. Those seemed to be satisfactorily explained by the hypothesis that the *nomen* was not conferred at the time of appointment, but later, by an imperial letter of confirmation. In this group of documents it seems likely that 3575 antedates 1559, falling in the period 28 Oct.-12 Nov. 341, in which case Dioscorus returned to the universal *nomen* Aurelius after having enjoyed the status of Flavius roughly from April to October 341. If 3575 falls after 1559, in the period 13-28 November, then the use of the status names fluctuates irregularly. This is unlikely, because these petitions were probably drawn up in the office of the official by scribes under his control and familiar with the protocol to be observed. It therefore appears likely that Flavius Dioscorus was demoted from a state position to a municipal one, or rather that his post was reduced from state to municipal ranking. Since the references to the post of ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης are so restricted in date, it looks as if it was an innovation of 341 which was not a success and was abandoned very soon.

<sup>5-6</sup> There are several possibilities for the restoration of the patronymic, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. After it we expect Horion's origin, i.e. ἀπό, perhaps with κώμης, cf. 6, 10, followed by a place name ending in -αc preceded by a vowel. Something like ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρεί]αc might suit, since no known Oxyrhynchite village name will fit, but one would expect some more formal description in the case of Alexandria or even of another nome capital, and even this is a little long for the space. If a village outside the Oxyrhynchite nome were mentioned, we would expect its nome to be specified.

<sup>6</sup> The writing looks most like ἀρούρης, which the clerk may have written by mistake.

<sup>7</sup> πολλῶ χροί]ω might suit and has been used in the translation.

<sup>8-9</sup> For *ωντετίει* = *ωντεθείει* cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i, 87. After that it might be possible to read and restore ἄρχε]οις (= ἀρχαίοις) ὀρίοις, cf. 13 below and *LSJ* s.v. πῆγνυμι IV, and this has been used in the translation.

<sup>9</sup> For ἀλ' = ἀλλ' cf. Gignac, op. cit. 155.

There seems to have been some overwriting at the end of the line. Possibly *τις* was written first and then *καί* was written over that. If something was fully cancelled here, *καί* will have preceded the second name in 10.

<sup>10-11</sup> The traces would allow ἐπε[λ][<sup>11</sup>θόντες μο], which has been used in the translation.

<sup>11</sup> ἔτρεμον. The large medial epsilon has been written over what was apparently alpha. The use of *τέμνειν* in the sense 'to lay waste' is surprisingly literary, cf. *LSJ* s.v. IV. 3. Even the sense would be better if it meant simply to cut the crop, but there seems to be no warrant for translating it so.

<sup>12</sup> Supply a verb such as *ἐπεκράτησαν*, 'seized', which has been used in the translation.

<sup>12-13</sup> It is not clear whether *ἀποκινήσαντες* refers to the physical removal of the boundary markers or to the metaphorical setting aside of the rights indicated by them. It may even mean removing some things or persons to a position outside them, see Preisigke, *WB* s.v.

<sup>13-16</sup> Cf. XLIII 3140 7-11 for the restorations.

<sup>16</sup> Near the end of the blank space after ]α there is ink in the shape of a round bracket, convex on the right. It remains unexplained and may be accident. Usually such a bracket marks a cancellation, but nothing of the kind seems appropriate here.

<sup>17</sup> This line must have begun with the name of Aurelius Horion but the exact form is doubtful.

## 3576. UNDERTAKING ON OATH

40 5B.94/F(5-7)c

11 × 24 cm

30 November 341

This undertaking to escort some persons to Pelusium and produce them at the headquarters of the *praeses* of Augustamnica shows that Pelusium was part of the province from the year Augustamnica was created, contrary to the view of J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 53-4. We may reasonably conclude that Augustamnica consisted from its inception in 341 till the creation of the diocese of Egypt c. 381-2 of the cities of Middle Egypt—Oxyrhynchus, Arsinoe, and Heracleopolis (see 3577 12 n.) are definitely attested in the papyri—joined to Memphis and the Eastern half of the Delta, as stated in A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*<sup>2</sup> 336.

For the type of text cf. XLIII 3127.

The back is blank.

ὑπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου

Προβ[ί]νου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων).

Ἀνρηλίω Διοσκόρω ἐπόπτη εἰρήνης Ὁξυρυγχίτου

παρὰ Ἀνρηλίω Πλουτίνου Πλουτίνου καὶ

5 Ἀρκετίου Πλουτίνου ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶc)

καὶ [λαμ(προτάτης)] Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως προπρομπόν.

ὁ]μολ[ο]γοῦμεν ὁμνύντες τὸν σεβάσιμον

θ[ε]ῖ[ον] ὄρκων τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ἀυγούστω(ν)

παρ[ε]ληφέναι τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένους,

<sup>2</sup> λαμ<sup>5</sup>  
ὄρκων αυγουστῶ

<sup>5</sup> λαμ<sup>5</sup>  
9 1. ἐγγεγραμμένους

<sup>6</sup> 1. προπρομπόν

<sup>7</sup> ομ of ὁμνύντες corr. from τον

<sup>8</sup> 1. θεῖον

- 10 οὗςπερ κατενεγκοῦμεν ἐπὶ τὸ Πηλούσιο(ν),  
κ[αὶ πα]ραστήσαι τῇ τάξει τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος  
τῆς Αὐγουσταμνικῆς Φλαοῦίου Ἰουλίου Αὐσονίου  
καὶ τῆς τούτων παραστάσεως ἄποχα γράμματα  
ἐπενεγκῖν εἰς τὸ ἐμ μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι  
15 ἢ ἔνο]χος εἶην [τ]ῷ θίω ὄρκω. παρέσχαμεν  
δὲ ἑαυτ]ῶν εἰς τὸ ἐνεκεν ἐγγυητῆν  
Αὐρήλ]ι[ο]ν Ἡρᾶν Ἀγαθοῦ Δ[αί]μονος ἀπ[ὸ] τῆ]ς  
αὐτῆ]ς πόλ[ε]ως πρὸς θ[ύ]ρας δημο[σ]ίου  
λογι]στηρίου παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα.  
20 εἰςὶ δέ.  
...]. ιος κεφαλαιωτῆς εἰρηναρχῶν  
...]. . θις ἀδε[λ]φός (vac?) [.]. [.]. ξ. . . c  
...]. [.]. . . . . (vac.)  
(m. 2) ὑπατείας τῆ]ς πρ[ο]κ(ειμένης), Χοιάκ δ-  
25 (m. 3) Αὐρήλιος Πλουτίνος παρίληφα  
τοὺς ἐγγεγραμμένους  
κα[ὶ] παραστήσω ὡς πρόκ(ει)ται.  
Δ[ύ]ρ]ηλι[ο]ς Λούκιος [. c. 8 letters  
. [ c. 12 letters ]. [ c. 10 letters

10 ε of κατενεγκοῦμεν corr. from α πηλουσιῶ 11 I. τάξει 14 I. ἐπενεγκῖν, ἐν 15 I. ἔνοχοι  
εἶημεν, θείω 16 I. ἐνεγκῖν or ἐνέγκαι ἐγγυητῆν 18 I. θύραις 21 I. κεφαλαιωτῆς  
24 πρ[ο]κ- 25 I. παρίληφα 26 I. ἐγγεγραμμένους

'In the consulship of Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus, *viri clarissimi*.'

'To Aurelius Dioscorus overseer of the peace of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Plutinus son of Plutinus and Aurelius Lucius son of Plutinus, both from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, escorts.'

'We acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath of our masters the Augusti, that we have taken charge of the persons whose names are written herein below, whom we shall convey down to Pelusium, and that we shall deliver them to the headquarters of the most perfect *praeses* of Augustamnica, Flavius Julius Ausonius, and that we shall produce the letters of receipt for their delivery so as not to be blamed in any respect, or may we be liable to the penalties of the divine oath. We have provided as our guarantor of delivery Aurelius Heras son of Agathodaemon from the same city, doorkeeper of the public accounting-office, who is present and consenting.'

Viz:

... ius, headman of the irenarchs

... is, his brother. . . .'

(2nd hand) 'In the aforesaid consulship, Choac 4.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Plutinus, have taken charge of the persons whose names are written herein and I shall deliver them as aforesaid.'

'I, Aurelius Lucius, . . .'

3 Αὐρηλίω. Cf. 3575 3-4 n.

4 Plutinus son of Plutinus has appeared before in P. Harr. 65 of 5 May 342. That document is a sworn guarantee for Plutinus by Aurelius Heras son of Agathodaemon, the same man who is designated here as guarantor (15-19). Unfortunately the damage to P. Harr. 65 leaves it uncertain what duty Plutinus was expected to perform, but such details as do survive seem to show that the case was not related to this one. The court of the same *praeses Augustamnicae* was concerned.

5 It seems likely that Lucius son of Plutinus was either the brother or the son of Plutinus son of Plutinus. A son of the principal Plutinus, called Dionysius, appears in P. Harr. 65. 9.

6 προπομπῶν. For XLIII 3127 6 I suggested κατ]απομποῦ as a possibility, for which προ]πομποῦ or even προ]πομποῦ is also possible, so severe is the damage. Here the damage is less severe. The first two letters are clear. Among the rest of the traces mu seems to stand out fairly clearly, as well as the final nu. The meaning 'escort' is very suitable. The best parallel seems at first sight to be P. Lips. 35. 5 (with BL I 206 = *Archiv* 3 (1906) 563), προπομπῶν τυρώνων, 'escort of recruits', but the note to P. Osl. III 88. 36 suggests that in P. Lips. 35 the escort is the escort of the tax (*χρυσὸς τυρώνων*) rather than of the recruits, which may be correct. Other occurrences of the word relate to escorts of goods in kind, see SPP XX 84 i 4, 9, 15, 19, ii 8, 13, 18 (wine and meat), P. Michael. 114 (*προπομπῶν πυροῦ*), and, if correctly restored, P. Osl. III 88. 14 n., 36 (wine).

8 The Augusti in AD 341 were Constantius II and Constans, cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems*, 74.

10 κατενεγκοῦμεν. For this sort of future, based on an aorist stem, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 287-8.

10-12 It is evident from these lines that Pelusium was part of Augustamnica, cf. introd. It was actually the chief city of Augustamnica I after the Egyptian diocese was created and Augustamnica was divided into two provinces, see Georgius Cyprius (Bib. Teubn., ed. H. Gelzer), 687.

For the *praeses* see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 256-7, *PLRE* i 139-40. To their references add 3576-9. Augustamnica was created in AD 341, see Lallemand 53, and Ausonius is first known from XII 1559 of 13 November 341. It looks as if he was the first governor of the new province. The latest reference to him is in P. Harr. 65 of 5 May 342. A successor, Flavius Olympius, is first attested on 14 March 343 by XLVIII 3389.

16 ἐνεκεν = ἐνεγκῖν or ἐνέγκαι. Cf. XLIII 3127 14 (*ἐνεγκεν*) and n.

17 The same guarantor has appeared before in P. Harr. 65, see above 4 n.

18-19 πρ[ὸ]ς θ[ύ]ρας (= θύραις) δημο[σ]ίου |<sup>19</sup> [λογι]στηρίου. Cf. XLIII 3104 8 and n., to which, however, some changes are required. In spite of another suggestion made in BL III 77, a photograph of P. Harr. 65. 8-9 shows πρὸς θύρας (= πρὸς θύραις) δημοσίου Ἀδριανίου (= Ἀδριανείου), the same wording as in XLV 3249 12. In SB VI 9406. 306 of AD 246 προσθύραις should be divided πρὸς θύραις and understood as if it were τῶ (or τοῖς) πρὸς θύραις, 'to the doorkeeper(s)'. These four documents give the title as a phrase of two words. In some others we find a single word (XLIII 3104 8 προσθυραίων (gen. pl.) λογιστηρίου (AD 228); SPP III 84. 1 προσθυραῖος (nom. sing.) τῆς δημοσίας [ c. 9 ]ς (vi AD?); P. Iand. III 37. 4-6 προσθυρεος (gen. sing.?) but cf. BL III 85) τῆς ζυμαχίας (= συμμαχίας) δ[ε]καστηρίας (vi/vii AD?). Possibly there are two words involved here, προσθυραῖος and προσθυρεός; or possibly there is only one, which has been confused by phonetic spelling (αι = ε) and grammatical error.

Here Aurelius Heras, who is guarantor for Plutinus, is in office in 341 as a πρὸς θύραις δημοσίου λογιστηρίου. In P. Harr. 65 of 342 Heras is again functioning as a guarantor of Plutinus, but there it is Plutinus who is πρὸς θύραις, and his title continues δημοσίου Ἀδριανίου (= Ἀδριανείου). There are two other small indications of a close connection between the Hadrianicum and the λογιστήριον. Firstly, P. Harr. 160 is a report of proceedings before a logistes which took place in the Hadrianicum, see the revised edition in *ZPE* 37 (1980) 236-8. Secondly, the λογιστήριον is well attested as the site of a prison, see XLIII 3104 8 n., and XVII 2154 13-15 attests a prison in the Hadrianicum. There is no doubt that a Hadrianicum was a temple to Hadrian. High priests of Hadrianea are known in Oxyrhynchus, Memphis, and Arsinoe, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* i 61-3. It looks, therefore, as if the λογιστήριον formed part of the premises of the Hadrianicum in Oxyrhynchus. This arrangement may have been found in other Egyptian cities as well.

It is possible that Heras and Plutinus held slightly different posts, but it may have been exactly the same. They may have held it at the same time, since there are two προσθυραίων λογιστηρίου in XLIII 3104, or Plutinus may have been in office in 341 and Heras in office in 342. The function seems to have been that of prison warden, see 3104 introd., and it was a liturgy, see XLV 3249.

21 κεφαλαιωτῆς (= κεφαλαιωτῆς) εἰρηναρχῶν. Cf. XIX 2233 3-4 and n., J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 166. The title 'headman' suggests that village irenarchs were organized into a guild or guilds.

25-9 These lines are all in the same hand, which may be that of one of the escorts or of a third party acting as amanuensis for both. The subscription of Aurelius Lucius will have been to the same effect as that of Aurelius Plutinus.

### 3577. LETTER OF A *Praeses Augustamnicae*

40 5B.94/F(8)a

27.5 × 24.5 cm

28 January 342

This rare item is an original letter from the chancery of a governor of Augustamnica, and its chief interest lies in the field of palaeography and diplomatic, see Pl. XVII. Because of its size and completeness it should be compared especially with P. Berol. 11532, a letter of the prefect of Egypt Subatianus Aquila, dating from 209, see W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, No. 35, R. Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* i No. 42 (opp. p. 83). The first impression must be astonishment at the faithful preservation over a period of about one hundred and thirty years of the characteristics of the 'Chancery' style, which has been best studied by G. Cavallo in *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216-49, tav. 1-15. Of course a detailed palaeographical analysis could identify many minute particulars in which the hands differ, and the overall impressions are also slightly different, chiefly because the shorter text of the earlier document allowed a more generous layout and a more generous spacing of the letters, but the differences are far outweighed by the similarities.

In the diplomatic two changes stand out as substantial. Firstly, the later document has no note that it was checked by a member of the *officium*, while the earlier has been countersigned—*Μαυρικιανός Μήνιος ἀνέγγων*, and the same man completed the date by adding after the regnal year and titulature *Τύβι νεομηνία*, that is, the month and day. Secondly, the date in the later document is given in Latin and in two parts. At the foot is the year date expressed in terms of consuls, in the left margin opposite ll. 4-6 of the Greek text is the day according to the Roman calendar, preceded by the word *dat(a)*, 'issued', and followed by the name of the place where the letter was written, *Heracl(eopolis)*. This note and its marginal position follow the Latin custom, cf. P. Dura 56 B, C = ChLA VI No. 311. This dates from 208, but the custom goes back further, as shown by XX 2265 of c. 120, which has a Greek translation of such a docket in the same position, see *CE* 43 (1968) 367-8. At this point it becomes relevant to compare also a Latin letter from the chancery of a *dux Aegypti*, which has a similar consular date at the foot, P. Abinn. 2 = ChLA I 8. The introduction to P. Abinn. 2 says, 'The missive . . . is dated by consuls to the year AD 344, without specification of the month', but the left edge is lost and we should probably conclude that there was a *dat(a)* clause there too. The ducal letters in CPR V 13 had *dat(a)* clauses, of which one survives, but no consular date clauses. However, they are copies only, and the dates appear sufficiently clearly in the texts, so probably it was not thought necessary to copy out the consular clauses. They also lack the farewell formula, which in the originals would have been in the hand of each *dux* concerned, as *ἔρωσθε* here is in the hand of the *praeses*.

The placing of the farewell formula, which is the equivalent of a modern signature, is interesting. It is always set very close to the final letter of the text. This is particularly noticeable in P. Berol. 11532, where the last line of the main text is very little shorter than the others and leaves a right margin of only about 5 cm, yet two syllables of the farewell are written in that space and the rest is carried over into the next line: *ἔρωσθε|<sup>7</sup>χαίτε βούλομαι*. Other examples are ChLA I 8, IV 246, 252, XLIII 3129, 3579, and perhaps one may compare in this respect P. lat. Strasb. 1, see *Archiv* 3 (1906) 168-72 and Taf. I (opp. p. 338), though that, being a private letter passing between high officials, lacks any kind of date clause. We may conjecture that the aim of the close spacing was to prevent unauthorized additions.

We must also compare P. Berol. 11532 and 3577 with 3579 (Pl. XVIII below) and XLIII 3129 (Pl. XI there), two more originals, both unfortunately much damaged. These differ chiefly in the smaller size of the sheet; 3579 measures 15 × 26 cm, 3129 is 13.5 × 25 cm, both being incomplete at the foot, while 3577 is 27.5 × 24.5 cm and P. Berol. 11532 is 28.3 × 22 cm (plus a strip of parchment 5.2 × 22 cm). The pattern of the figures suggests that there were two standard formats, the larger used for grander documents, the smaller for routine messages. It seems to make no difference to the format that 3129 comes from the chancery of a prefect at a time when Egypt was a single province, while 3577 and 3579 come from a *praeses* of Augustamnica. However, the Latin original from the *dux* Valacius referred to above (P. Abinn. 2 = ChLA I 8) measures 38 × 25 cm. It has lost a strip at the left and so must have been over 40 cm wide. Incidentally, it is not surprising that the *dux* writes in Latin. The army's internal administrative affairs were commonly carried on in Latin, while civil affairs were conducted in Greek.

The appearance of the smaller examples is spoiled by damage, which may affect our judgement of the hands, but it seems to me that they show more freedom in the forms of the letters and in the use of ligatures than those of the larger documents, though they still adhere to the 'Chancery' style. This seems to suit the suggestion that the formats are indications of the degree of importance attached to the cases.

In 3577 the *praeses* addresses himself to Aëtius and Dioscorus, leading citizens of Oxyrhynchus, on the proper collection of the chrysargyron, a tax levied in gold and silver bullion on traders (*negotiatores, πραγματευταί*), on which see J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen*, 129-37, cf. XLVIII 3415 introd., XLIX 3480 10-11 n. The pair had collected the tax from persons who should not have been liable and who had a decree of the same governor exempting them. The governor orders them to collect what was due from the persons who were legally liable and to return the contributions which had been levied improperly.

Both 3129 and 3579 are covering letters sent by the high official with copies of documents which had been submitted to him by inhabitants of the Oxyrhynchite nome and which required action or consideration from the local officials. They may be counted as routine documents, cf. 3579 3 n., while 3577 concerns an important financial matter.



That the sheet for 3577 was cut from a roll in the normal way is demonstrated by a single sheet join falling slightly to the right of the middle of the document. The final upright of Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν in l. 2 is just on the edge of the join, which is conspicuous in Plate XVII because of a strip of wear that runs vertically along the right side of it.

The top, foot, and right edge of the sheet are nearly straight, except where they are a little frayed by wear or damaged by worms. The left edge is far from vertical and is rather irregular, though apparently not much worn. It is possible that it has been broken in modern times. If so, the broken piece has not been found. It is reported that P. Berol. 11532 has a blank strip of parchment 5.2 × 22 cm adhering to the back along the left edge and projecting c. 3.7 cm to the left, see ed. pr. in *Sitzungsb. d. Königl. Preuß. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 37 (1910) 710–11, W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berlinenses*, p. XXVI. On the back of ChLA I 8 at the lower left is a patch of parchment 5.5 × 5.5 cm. Here there is no trace of such an attachment, and although, as explained above, the left edge may not be entirely intact, the manner of folding makes it unlikely that there was one.

The patterns of worm damage, the traces of folds, and the position of the address on the back allow us to see how the document was folded. There are nine vertical folds, making ten panels, which increase in width from right to left, except that the last panel is not so wide as the penultimate one. The address runs down the back of the third panel from the left. It could be that the sheet was folded repeatedly from the right, but it seems more likely that it was rolled up with the right edge inside and then flattened before the address was written. This method produces the desired result more quickly and more neatly. The end panel on the left was tucked into the package for protection of the left edge and not allowed to remain round the outside; otherwise the end panel would have covered the one where the address stands.

From a study of the various hands F. Preisigke tried to clarify the steps in the drafting of P. Berol. 11532, see *Die Inschrift von Skaptoparene* 21–4. First, according to Preisigke, a subordinate clerk wrote the body of the document in good ‘Chancery’ style, then a senior clerk wrote the regnal year and the imperial titles in a less formal hand, after which the head of the bureau checked the two texts and added his name and mark of approval—*Μαυρικιανὸς Μῆμιος ἀνέγγων*—and the month and day—*Τύβι νεομηνία*. Only then, as the final step, was the document placed before the prefect, who authenticated it by adding in his own hand *ἔρρωσθαί με βούλομαι*.

This seems plausible enough, though it need not be true in every respect. One might imagine, for instance, that the month and day might not be added till the document was about to be dispatched and that possibly *ἀνέγγων* might refer to a check made at the last possible stage, after the prefect had signed.

In the case of 3577 some similar process must have taken place. The body of the text was written first by a subordinate scribe fairly certainly. It was apparently the same clerk who added the final touch, after the document was folded, by writing the address, see Pl. XVII. The more cursive form of xi in Ὁξυρυγχιτ[ῶ]ν is the only conspicuous difference between this address and the main text. There is no address on P. Berol. 11532

or ChLA I 8, though one might have stood on the parchment attachments. There appears to be no address on 3579. There is one on XLIII 3129, probably in the hand of the main text, as here in 3577.

The Latin consular date is obviously in a very different script, but also the ink is lighter and the pen was perhaps thinner, so that there is good reason to believe that a second person wrote it, perhaps a senior clerk, as Preisigke suggested for the parallel clause of P. Berol. 11532. The authentication by the *praeses* is clearly distinct. However, there is no countersignature by the head of the bureau and the month and day are added in the left margin preceded by *dat(a)* and followed by *Heracl(eopolis)*. In XLIII 3129 I concluded that the hand of the marginal docket was different from that of the consular clause. In 3577 the hand seems to be the same in both. I must confess that doubt attaches even in my mind to both conclusions. If the marginalia are in a fourth hand in each case, it might be that the *dat(a)* clause is the equivalent of the countersignature and the date added by Mauricianus Menius in P. Berol. 11532. But the exact procedure remains for the moment in doubt.

The re-examination of XLIII 3129 has led me to read the place name in the marginal docket as *Al]ex(andriae)* rather than *l( )*. Compare CPR V 13 intercolumnium for a very similar writing of *Alex( )*. Here in 3577 the L of *Heracl( )* is the same as that of *Kal( )* in all three documents. In 3129 the supposed *l( )* is very different and is abbreviated by a stroke not found in the other places. What I read as the upright of L I now take as the upper part of E. There is also a fleck of ink remaining from the lower part. What I took as the foot of L, sloping downwards to the right, is the first stroke of X, and what I took as an abbreviation stroke, rising to the right through the preceding stroke, is the final stroke of X.

Φλάουιος Ἰούλιος Αὐρόνιος (vac.) Αἰτίω καὶ

Διοσκόρω προπολ(ιτενομένοις) Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν (vac.) χαίρειν.

μηδὲν ὀχλήσαντες τοῖς μὴ πραγματευτικὸν ἐπανηρημένοις  
βίον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσταγμα ἔχουσιν τῆς ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως, αὐτοὺς

5 τοὺς πραγματεὺτὰς καὶ ὑποβληθέντας ἀπαιτήσαντες πάντα  
ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐξαπεστίλατε, ἀποκαταστήσατε τὸ χρυσίον καὶ  
τὸν ἄργυρον. δίκαιον γάρ ἐστιν εὐεργετήσαντα αὐτὸν νῦν  
γούν κομίσασθαι ἅπερ προέχρησεν. (m. 2) ἔρρωσθε.

(vac.)

(m. 3) *d(ominis) n(ostris) Const[ant]io Aug(usto) ter et Constante Aug(usto)*  
*iterum co(n)s(ulibus).*

10 Left margin, opposite 4-6: *dat(a)*  
*v Kal(endas) Febr(uarias)*  
*Heracl(eopolì).*

Back, downwards:

(m. 1) *Ἀετίω καὶ Διοσκόρω προπολ(ιτευομένοις) Ὁξυρυχιτ[ῶ]ν.*

10 *dat*      11 *kalfibr*      12 *heracl*      13 *προπολ'*

'Flavius Julius Ausonius to Aëtius and Dioscorus, leading citizens of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting.'

'Without in any way molesting those who have not taken up the life of businessmen and who have, moreover, an edict of my own Loyalty (sc. to protect them), exact the tax from those people who are indeed businessmen and subject to it, that is, from all those whose names you have dispatched (to headquarters?), and give back the gold and silver. For it is just that he who has been a benefactor should himself now finally receive back what he advanced.'

(2nd hand) 'Farewell.'

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus, for the third time, and Constans Augustus, for the second time.'

'Given the 5th day before the Calends of February at Heracleopolis.'

(Back) 'To Aëtius and Dioscorus leading citizens of the Oxyrhynchites.'

1 For Ausonius see 3576 10-12 n.

1-2 For Aëtius see I 67 (= M. Chr. 56 = Jur. Pap. 87) of AD 338. Flavius Aëtius, logistes in AD 393, see P. Rein. II 92, is likely to have been another man, perhaps a descendant.

Dioscorus is not certainly known from elsewhere, but may be the *ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης* of 3575-6 and 3578. He may also, or alternatively, be the Dioscorus of 3579.

On the meaning of *προπολιτευόμενος* see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils* 155-8. It refers to no specific office.

4 *καθοσιώσεως*. Cf. CPR V 7. 8 n.

6 *ἐξαπεστίλατε* (= *ἐξαπεστειλάτε*). Evidently the local officials compiled a register of persons liable to the tax and sent up a copy of this to the provincial governor's headquarters. This is presumably the sort of document referred to in *Cod. Theod.* 16. 2. 15. 1 as a *negotiatorum matricula*.

7-8 This sentence looks as if it was drafted to suit the case of a particular person and it may well be that an individual precedent formed the basis for a general ruling, but it is possible that 'he who' in the translation should be 'anyone who'.

8 The farewell formula is the autograph of the *praeses*, see introd.

9-11 The date converts to 28 January, AD 342. On 12 January a document from Panopolis, P. Panop. 19 xi, was given a post-consular date clause, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems*, 111.

12 There was some slight doubt whether Heracleopolis fell into the province of Augustamnica, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 53. The only previous indication was in P. Amh. II 142 (= M. Chr. 65), cf. 3576 introd., but the fact that the governor of Augustamnica dated his letter from Heracleopolis is certain proof that his province included it.

### 3578. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

40 5B.91/B(1-2)c

19 × 12 cm

25 February-26 March (?) 342

Severe damage makes it impossible to recover the circumstances of this case, but the structure of the document can be seen by comparison with similar files such as I 67

(= M. Chr. 56 = Jur. Pap. 87), XII 1470, and CPR V 12. The plaintiff petitioned the *praeses* of Augustamnica (9-17), who wrote a routine letter to Dioscorus the overseer of the peace of the Oxyrhynchite nome, instructing him to take appropriate action if he found the plaintiff's account of the facts true (6-9). This letter is very like 3579 and XLIII 3129, which are originals. No doubt there was an original of the letter quoted here, but it is evident that it was also necessary for the plaintiff himself to write to the overseer of the peace and ask him to take the action prescribed by the *praeses* (1-6). He cited in his request the texts of his petition and the reply of the *praeses*.

It emerges incidentally that Dioscorus continued in office as overseer of the peace into 342.

The back was used again after this document was written. The writing on that side runs along the fibres, downwards with respect to that on the front, and only the beginnings of its fifteen damaged lines remain. The first three lines were in shorthand, the rest in Greek cursive. The damage makes the nature of the document obscure and not enough has been deciphered to make it worth while to print a transcript.

ὑπατείας τῶν δε[ρσοτῶν ἢ]μῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ γ' καὶ Κώνσταντο[ρ τ]ὸ β'  
 τ[ῶ]ν Ἀνγούστων, Φαμενώθ.

Ἀύρηλίω Διοσκ[όρω ἐπόπτη] εἰρήνης Ὁξυρ[υ]ρχίτου

παρ[ὰ] Ἀύρηλ[ί]ου [Πτολεμαίου] λιβανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὦν  
 ἀνήνεγκα ἐπὶ τὸν κύρ[ι]ον μου

τὸν διασημ[ό]τατον ἡγεμόν]α τῆς Ἀύγουσταμ[ν]ικῆς Φλάουιον Ἰούλιον Ἀύσό-  
 νιον τὸ ἀντίτιπο(ν)

5 ὑποτάξας λί[β]ελλον ἐπιδ[ι]δωμι ἀξιῶν ἀ[κόλ]ουθα τῆς κεκελευσ[μ]ένης [ρ]ή[σ]εως  
 πράξαι. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἀ[ντίτυπον]

τῶν μὲν κ[εκελευσμένων]:— Φλάουιος Ἰούλι[ο]ς [Ἀύσόν]ιος ἐπόπτη εἰρή[ν]ης  
 Ὁξ[υ]ρχίτου. τοῦ τίνα ἐξτιά-  
 ατο Πτολεμ[αίου] λίβ[ε]λλον ἐπιτοῦς τῆ ἐμῆ [καθος]ιώσει ἐκ τῶν ἐν[νε]ζευ[γ]μένων

γνώσει. φρό-  
 ντισον οὔν, [εἰ ἀλ]ηθεύ[ο]ντα α]ὐτὸν κατίτης, ταδ[. . . .]. . . . αυτουπρ

[. . . . .]. . . . . ης. . . . .  
 . . . . . [ . . . ] α α . . δ . . . . . ἔρρωσο. τῶν δ[ε] ἀνευ[χ]θῆγτων:— Φλ[αουί]ω

Ἰουλίω Ἀύσόνιω

10 ἡγε]μόνι τῆ[ρ] A]ούγουσταμνικῆς παρὰ [Ἀύρηλίου Πτ]ολεμαίου λιβανοῦ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)

2 l. Ὁξυρυχίτου      4 Ἰουλιον      αντιτιπῶ; l. ἀντίτυπον      5 l. τοῖς κεκελευσμένοις      α'      6 Ἰουλιος  
 ο]ξί'      6-7 l. ἡτιάατο      7 l. ἐπιδούς, καθοσιώσει      8 l. κατίδου      9 Ἰουλιω      10 l.  
 Ἀύγουσταμνικῆς      λαμδ, λαμδ

'Οξυρρυγ]χιτῶν πόλεως. ουκ. ναι. [ c. 15 letters ]..... κυνη  
 .....]. ο κατὰ τῆς μετρίότητος. [ c. 15 letters ]... τησ[.]..... τας  
 .....]. ντελε. ας ἐπιτη. [ c. 20 letters ]... [.]..... ο(ν)  
 .....]. [.]..... εἰ. [ c. 22 letters ]... [.]..... [.]  
 ..... [ (vac.)? ]  
 15 c. 50 letters ]... [.]..... εἰσ. [.]..... [.]  
 c. 60 letters ]..... [.]  
 c. 60 letters ]... [.]..... [.]

13 ]... ὀ

<sup>1</sup>In the consulship of our masters Constantius, for the third time, and Constans, for the second time, the Augusti, Phamenoth.

<sup>2</sup>To Aurelius Dioscorus overseer of the peace of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Ptolemaeus son of Silvanus from the same city. Subjoining the counterpart of the petition which I sent up to my lord the most perfect *praeses* of Augustamnica Flavius Julius Ausonius, I submit a petition requesting you to take action in conformity with the orders that have been given.

<sup>3</sup>Here is the counterpart, firstly of the orders:—

'Flavius Julius Ausonius to the overseer of the peace of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Who it is whom Ptolemaeus accused by submitting a petition to my Loyalty, and of what, you will learn from the attached documents. Take care then, if you observe that he is telling the truth . . . Farewell.'

<sup>4</sup>Secondly of the petition sent up:—

'To Flavius Julius Ausonius, *praeses* of Augustamnica, from Aurelius Ptolemaeus son of Silvanus from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites . . .'

1 τ[ῶ]ν ἀρχούστων. Cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 111, where we see that the formulas so far attested have ἀρχούστων only or τῶν αἰωνίων ἀρχούστων. Add to those references P. Col. VII 150. 10, 35–6, where we have the form θούστων. It may be some such spelling here which makes the damaged writing so hard to recognize, cf. Ἀ]ουγουεταμνικήσ in 10 below.

Φαμηνόθ. A tall upright suitable for phi stands out clearly and the theta is also characteristic, but some doubt remains. For the absence of the day number cf. XII 1470 2.

2 On Dioscorus see 3575 3–4 n. This is the latest mention of him in office. Though the month is uncertain, it is clear that he functioned in 342 as well as 341.

3 The Ptolemaeus son of Silvanus of XLV 3249 9 (AD 326) may well be the same man.

4 On Ausonius see 3576 10–12 n.

5 λι[βελλον]. Possible alternatives are λι[βέλλου], since the word is often used in the plural with singular sense, and λι[βέλλων], to go with ὦν ἀνήνεγκα above. However, τῶν δ[ε] ἀνερχ[ι]θέντων in 9, cf. I 67 12, suggests that it is better to leave ὦν ἀνήνεγκα without an antecedent and give an object to ἐπιδίδωμι.

6 κ[εκελευσμένων] is no more than a stopgap. Cf. 5 and I 67 7.

<sup>7</sup>Ο]ξ(υρρυγίτου). τοῦ τίνα. Since the space and the traces suit ο]ξ' τουτινα, but do not allow any writing of Ο]ξυρρυγίτου. τινα, I have taken τοῦ as equivalent to τίνος, see LSJ s.v. αἰτιάομαι, though I should have expected this passage to follow the same wording as 3579 3–6. Perhaps ο]ξ' του might represent Ο]ξ(υρρυγίτου), but I can offer no parallel in support. In fact, οξ' is regularly used for the name of the nome.

6–7 ἐστιά[?]το = ἡτιάατο, see 3579 3. It is clear from the incorrect syllabification of the division that the writer did not understand this passage.

7 ἐπιτούς = ἐπιδούς. Cf. 3579 4.

8 κατίτης = κατίδοις. Cf. 3579 7 and n.

9 ἀνερχ[ι]θέντων. Cf. I 67 12 and 5 n. above.

3579. LETTER OF A *Praeses Augustamnicae*

40 5B.95/J(1–4)a

15 × 26 cm

341–3

This is an original letter from the chancery of a *praeses* of Augustamnica to Aëtius, a leading citizen of Oxyrhynchus, instructing him to take appropriate action if he found that the facts submitted in a petition to the *praeses* by an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus were true.

The format is discussed in 3577 introd., where it is concluded that 3579 and XLIII 3129, though written in 'Chancery' style with appropriate Latin dating clauses, represent a class of routine documents less formally presented than 3577 and P. Berol. 11532, cf. 3 n. below. See also Pl. XVIII.

The surface is badly abraded, so that the details of the case are doubtful. Loss of papyrus at the foot and in the left margin has meant that the date is uncertain, though the name of the *praeses* allows it to be placed in the range AD 341–3, see 1 n.

The back is also somewhat damaged, but it seems very unlikely that there was ever any address like the ones on the backs of XLIII 3129 and 3577.

The decipherment owes a great deal to Dr Coles. He read Διόσκορος (3), which is certain, and suggested ἀναγκ[ά]σαι (7–8), which is very convincing. He also read many other individual letters which allowed me to make further progress.

Φλάουϊος Ἰούλιος Αὐτόνιος Αἰτίω

προπολ(ιτενομένω) Ὀξ[υ]ρρυγ[ι]τῶν χαίρ[ειν].

τίνα ἡτιάατο Διόσκορος λίβελλ[ον]

ἐπιδούς τῆ ἐμῆ καθοσιώσε[ι]

5 ἐκ τῶν συξευγμένω[ν]

γνώσει. φ[ρ]όντικον οὖν, εἰ ἀλλ-

θεύοντα ἀπτόν κατείδοις, ἀναγκ[ά]-

σαι τούς κ. . . [.] ας τὰ γήδια κ[α]

γεω[ργ]οῦντ[α]ς τήν ἀπορ. [.] . . .

10 κιν [τ]ῶν χρ[ε]ωστουμ[ένων]

φόρων . . . εἰ . . . χορηγ[.] . . .

. . . [.] . (m. 2) ἔρρ[ωσο.] (vac.)

(vac.)

(m. 3) 15–20 letters? ]... [.]... [

(vac.)

1 φλαουϊος

2 προπολ'

7 1. κατίδοις

Left margin, opposite 4-7: [d]at(a)  
 15 x... [  
 m[...].  
 p.[...].

Flavius Julius Ausonius to Aëtius, leading citizen of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting.

'Who it is whom Dioscorus accused by submitting a petition to my Loyalty you will learn from the attached documents. Take care then, if you observe that he is telling the truth, to compel those who are detaining (?) the lands and farming (them) to make (?) restitution (?) of the rents which are owed to the petitioner (?).' (2nd hand) 'Farewell.'

(3rd hand) 'In the consulship of . . .'

'Given the . . . th day before the Calends of (March or May?) at Pelusium (?)'

1 On Ausonius see 3576 10-12 n. His name here limits the date of the document to the three consular years AD 341, 342, and 343, though the consular date clause here is as yet not recognized, see 13 n.

2-3 On Aëtius and his title see 3577 1-2 n.

3 τῆνα ἡγίασατο. Cf. 3578 6, where the letter apparently began τοῦ (= τίνος) τῆνα ἐστίασατο (sic; for ἡγίασατο). Apart from the absence of τοῦ and the difference of the petitioner's name the wording of 3-7 here, as far as κατείδου (= κατίδου), is the same as that of 3578 6-8. This is another strong indication of the routine nature of 3579, see introd. above and 3577 introd.

7 κατείδου = κατίδου. For εἰ + opt. see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§649-50; cf. XLIII 3129 7-8.

7-12 The damage is so severe that only a conjecturally restored text is possible: ἀναγκ[ά]σαι τῶν κατ[έχοντ]ας τὰ γῆδια κ[αί] ἢ γεω[ργ]ούντ[α]ς τὴν ἀποκ[ατάστα]σιν τ[ῶν] χερ[ε]ψτομ[ένων] ἢ φόρων τῶ ἐν τυχόντ[ι] ποιέει<sup>12</sup> [θα]μ. (m. 2) ἔρη[ωσο.] (vac.). This version has been used for the translation.

12 There is an unexpected and unexplained trace here in the left margin. It looks like the thinner strokes used in the Latin portions of the document.

13 These traces must come from a consular date clause in Latin, cf. XLIII 3129 10. In spite of the limited range of three years, 341-3, allowed by the name of the praeses, see 1 n. above, it has not yet been possible to identify them. The Latin formula for 342 occurs in 3577 9. I have not been able to reconcile the traces with it. The names of the consuls of 341 and 343 are well known, cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 111. Both senior consuls of these years were also currently *praefecti praetorio*, see *PLRE* I 548-9 (Antonius Marcellinus), 705-6 (Furius Placidus), and that title may have appeared in the Latin formulas, as it did in the one for 344, see P. Abinn. 2 = ChLA 18. However, I have not succeeded in matching the traces with any of the possibilities that I have thought of, nor is there a single Latin letter than I can give as certain.

Below there is a narrow area of blank papyrus about 1.5 cm deep. Probably the consular date clause would have extended to a second line, which has been lost with the bottom edge, cf. XLIII 3129 10 n.

14-17 On *data* clauses of this type see 3577 introd. The traces of l. 14 are extremely scanty. Instead of [d]at(a) we might equally well print dat(a). Luckily the actual content of the line is certain. In 15 the initial x, = 10, gives assurance that the date was expressed by the Calends, and not by Ides or Nones. Possibly xp κ[α]λ[ένδης] is to be read. In 16 the first letter appears to be m and this is very probably the beginning of some version of either *Martias* or *Maias*. The traces after the gap in 16 and 17 are rather confused and might possibly be stray ink rather than part of this clause. In 17 P[ε]λ[υσι]ο[ς] or P[ε]λ[υσι]ο[ς] is the most attractive possibility, cf. 3576 introd.

I have not been able to decide whether the *data* clause is in a different hand from the presumed consular date in l. 13, see 3577 introd. *ad fin.*

## 3580. LIST OF SOLDIERS

36 4B.100/G(1)a

17 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

Under the heading 'Camp of Scenae extra Gerus' this papyrus has a list of soldiers in three columns. The second and third columns are badly damaged, but the blank

papyrus at the bottom right shows that the third column was comparatively short. The piece was apparently a single sheet with the names of between forty and fifty-five men. The back is blank, so far as it is preserved.

Each name is preceded by Flavius, the characteristic *nomen* of the house of Constantine, which is here a status indication rather than a true name, and shows that the list dates from after Constantine's defeat of Licinius in AD 324, cf. *ZPE* 11 (1973) 35, 37, 49-50. The handwriting suggests that the document falls within the remaining part of the fourth century.

The first two names have indications of rank; the first man was a centurion, the second a decurion. The centurion cannot have been a member of the cavalry regiment, the *ala I Herculia* which the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. xxviii 29) assigns to this place. Presumably the men were a detachment of some other unit and were temporarily posted there. Since the papyrus comes from Oxyrhynchus, it is likely that they also served in that area, either before or after their posting to this camp, which lay between Pelusium and Mount Casius near the north-eastern boundary of Egypt.

	κ(άστρα) Cκηνῶν ἐκτὸς Γέρου		
	Φλ(άουϊος) Παῆσις (ἐκατοντάρχη)	20	Φλ(άουϊος) Πιμοῦεις Φ[λ(άουϊος)]
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ἀσκλάς (δεκαδάρχη)		Φλ(άουϊος) Παλίβις 40 Φ[λ(άουϊος)]
	Φλ(άουϊος) Πετε. . νσις		Φλ(άουϊος) Τιθοῆς [
5	Φλ(άουϊος) Πετε. . ιρις		Φλ(άουϊος) . . . . . σις [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Φθιάους		Φλ(άουϊος) Ἰζίδωρος [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Παῆσις	25	[Φλ(άουϊος) . . .] [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Μουκῆς		[Φλ(άουϊος)]
	Φλ(άουϊος) Φθιάους		[Φλ(άουϊος)]
10	Φλ(άουϊος) Πιατίλις		Φλ(άουϊος) . . [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ἄνουβίων		Φλ(άουϊος) . [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ἰερ<α>κίων	30	Φλ(άουϊος) . [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Κροῦρ		Φλ(άουϊος) . [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ὠρίων		Φλ(άουϊος) . [
15	Φλ(άουϊος) Ἀπ<ί>ων		Φλ(άουϊος) . [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ἐλουρίων		Φλ(άουϊος)
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ἦρων	35	Φλ(άουϊος) . [
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ματόεις		Φλ(άουϊος) Ἀρφάτ (vac.)
	Φλ(άουϊος) Ἄνουβίων		Φλ(άουϊος) Ψόεις (vac.)
			Φλ(άουϊος) Φίλιπος (vac.)

1 κ/ 2 φλ/ (and so throughout) χ = (ἐκατοντάρχη) 3 χ = (δεκαδάρχη) 12 Ἰερκίων  
 16 l. Αἰλουρίων 18 l. Ματόεις 20 l. Πιμοῦεις 37 l. Ψόεις 38 l. Φίλιπος

	'Camp of Scenae extra Gerus:		
	Fl. Paesis, centurion	20	Fl. Pimuis
	Fl. Asclas, decurion		Fl. Palibis (?)
	Fl. Pete..nsis		Fl. Tithoes
5	Fl. Pete..iris		Fl. ....sis
	Fl. Phthiaius		Fl. Isidorus
	Fl. Paesis	(25-35)	No names preserved)
	Fl. Muscs		Fl. Harphat
	Fl. Phthiaius		Fl. Psois
10	Fl. Piatilis		Fl. Philippus
	Fl. Anubion		Fl. ...
	Fl. Hieracion	40	Fl. ...
	Fl. Crur		(breaks off)'
	Fl. Horion		
15	Fl. Apion		
	Fl. Aelurion		
	Fl. Heron		
	Fl. Matois		
	Fl. Anubion		

1 For the expansion of κ( ) to κ(ἀτρα)—or κ(ἀτρον)—cf. CPR V 13. 3, 19 (Taf. 25). Although that is a Latin document, the parallel seems convincing.

To judge from S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 51, κ(ἀτρα) plural is more likely in the fourth century, though CPR V 13. 5 has the singular form in Latin in AD 396.

For the form of the place-name, in which the last element is subject to considerable variation, see 3574 4-5 n.

4 Not Πετεχώνσις. Perhaps the variant Πετεχόνσις is possible.

5 Not Πετεεΐρις, for the letter after Πετε- has a descender.

6 Φθιάουσις. Cf. 9. The name is new, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

18 Ματόσις. This form is new, but Ματόϊ, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, looks like a version of the same.

21 Παλίβις. If rightly read, this is new.

### 3581. PETITION TO A TRIBUNE

P.Oxy.inv.a/1

30.8 × 26.7 cm

Fourth or fifth century

Aurelia Attiaena petitions the tribune Flavius Marcellus (who also holds a police post of some kind) because of the outrageous behaviour of her husband Paul. The details of the case are reminiscent of sensational journalism. The date is unclear. τὸν βασιλικὸν νόμον (16-17) makes it clear that the *repudium* which Attiaena sent to her husband (15-16) was issued under the terms of Roman law. The conditions for unilateral divorce by a woman without incurring penalty (A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii (1973), 974-5; A. Merklein, *Das Ehescheidungsrecht nach den Papyri der byzantinischen Zeit* 68-71) suggest that a date in the fifth century would be more appropriate than one in the fourth, but see 16 n.

Written along the fibres in a large 'official' cursive, with Attiaena's own subscription. The sheet has suffered some loss at the top but is otherwise well preserved. There is a kollesis near the middle, between α and ι at the end of ἐπιστραφήναι (23).

On the back is a poorly preserved five-line memorandum, along the fibres,

apparently relating to sitologi and tax-payments and therefore unconcerned with the petition on the front. There is also an abandoned entry (π, only) upside down at the other end of the sheet.

[Φλαουίω] Μαρκέλλω τριβο[ύνω c. 10 ] .ς τῇ εἰρήνῃ (vac.)

[παρὰ Αὐρηλ]ίας Ἀττιένης ἀπὸ [τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειτῶ]ν πόλεως. Παῦλός τις ὀρμώμενος

[ἀπὸ τῆς] αὐτῆς πόλεως ῥιψοκινδύ[νωσ φερόμενο]ς κα[τὰ β]ίαν καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀφήρπα-

[σέν με καὶ] συνήλθεν μοι πρὸς γάμ[ον c. 4] , δο. . . . . μ[.]. ἐξ αὐτοῦ θηλυκὸν παιδίον

5 [ c. 7 ] ε[ἰ]σαγαγούσα εἰς τὸν ἡμ[έτε]ρ[ον οἶκο]ν μ[η]. [ ] νπον. [ . . ] [ . . ] . τὴν ἀνελεύθερον

αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν καὶ πάντα μου τὰ πράγματα κ[.]. . . . . κ[. . . ] [ . . . ] . σεν καταλείπων με

μετὰ καὶ τῆς νηπίας μου θυγατρὸς ἐν καιρ. . . [ . ] . μω συνήλθεν [ἐ]ταίρα γυναικεὶ καὶ εἶσέν με

χηρεύουσα <ν>. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ πάλειν ἐξηπά[της]εν διὰ πρεσβυτέρων ἄχρισ οὐδὲ πάλειν συν-

εισενέγκω αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον γραψάμενός μοι συνπα[ρ]αμείναι τὴν συμβίωσιν

10 εἰ δὲ βουλευθεῖη τὰ αὐτὰ ἀνελεύθερα πράγματα διαπράσασθαι ἐκτίσω αὐτὸν χρυσίου οὐγκίας δύο

καὶ ὁ τούτου πατὴρ ἐγγράφως ἀνεδέξατο αὐτὸν. καὶ εἰσαγαγούσα αὐτὸν [εἰς] τ[ὸ]ν ἡμέτερον οἶκον χίρο-

να τῶν πρώτων αὐτοῦ σφαλμάτων ἐπεχείρησεν διαπράσασθαι καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀρφανίας

μου οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἐρήμωσιν εἰργάσατο κατὰ τοῦ οἴκου μου ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιξενευσάν-

των τῷ οἴκῳ μου ἀπεσύλησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν καὶ ὕβρις καὶ ζημίας ὑπέστην ἄχρισ

15 οὐδὲ συνχωρήσουσίν μοι τὸ ζῆν. εὐλαβηθεῖσα μὴ κίνδυνον πάλειν ὑπομῖνω ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ῥεπού-

2 l. Ἀττιάνης 6 πραγ'ματα, so in 10 7 l. ἐτέρα γυναικί 8 l. πάλω; so in 15, 17, 19  
10 l. ἐκτεΐσειν 11 l. ἐγγράφως 11-12 l. χείρονα 14 l. ὕβρις 15 l. συνχωρήσουσιν, ὑπομείνω

διον διὰ ταβουλαρίου προσέπεμψα αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ταβουλαρίου κατὰ  
τὸν βασιλικὸν  
νόμον. πάλειν ῥυθοκινδύνως φερόμενος ἔχων τὴν γυναικὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας  
αὐτοῦ  
συνπαραλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ἀτάκτων ἀφήρπασέν με καὶ  
κατέκλεισεν  
ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ <οὐκ?> ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ ὅτε ἐγκύμων ἐγενόμην πάλειν  
καταλείπων με  
20 συνῆλθεν τῇ αὐτῇ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ γυναικί καὶ νῦν ἐπαγγέλλεται μοι φθόνον τινὰ  
κεμεῖν  
κατ' ἐμοῦ. ὅθεν παρακαλῶ τὴν σὴν τοῦμοῦ κυρίου στερρότητα κελεύσαι αὐτὸν  
παρα[σ]τῆσαι  
καὶ ἀπαιτηθῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔνγραφον αὐτοῦ ὁμολογίαν τὰς δύο οὐγκείας τοῦ  
χρυσοῦ καὶ  
[ὅσα ἐζημιώθη]ν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιστραφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐφ' οἷς τετόλμηκεν κατ' ἐμοῦ.

(m. 2) Αὐρηλία Ἀττίανα ἐπιδέδωκα.

17 l. γυναῖκα, οἰκίας      18 l. συμπαραλαβὼν      19 l. οἰκίας, ἐγκύμων      20 l. γυναικί κ of καὶ  
corr.: from α?      επαγγέλλεται.      l. κινεῖν      22 l. ἔνγραφον, οὐγκείας      23 a of αὐτοῦ corr. from τ  
24 l. Ἀττίανα

'[To Flavius] Marcellus, tribune . . . peace, from Aurelia Attiaena from the city of the Oxyrhynchites. A certain Paul, coming from the same city, behaving recklessly carried me off by force and compulsion and cohabited with me in marriage . . . a female child by him . . . taking him into our house . . . his vile course of action and all my property . . . leaving me, with my infant daughter too, in . . . he cohabited with another woman and left me bereft. After some time again he beguiled (me) through presbyters until I should again take him into our house, agreeing in writing that the marriage was abiding and that if he wished to indulge in the same vile behaviour he would forfeit two ounces of gold, and his father stood written surety for him. I took him into our house, and he tried to behave in a way that was worse than his first misdeeds, scorning my orphan state, not only in that he ravaged my house but when soldiers were billeted in my house he robbed them and fled, and I endured insults and punishments to within an inch of my life. So taking care lest I again run such risks on account of him, I sent him through the *tabularius* a deed of divorce through the *tabularius civitatis* in accordance with imperial law. Once more behaving recklessly, and having his woman in his house, he brought with him a crowd of lawless men and carried me off and shut me up in his house for (not?) a few days. When I became pregnant, he abandoned me once more and cohabited with his same so-called wife and now tells me he will stir up malice against me. Wherefore I appeal to my lord's staunchness to order him to appear in court and have exacted from him the two ounces of gold in accordance with his written agreement together with such damages as I suffered on his account and that he should be punished for his outrages against me.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelia Attiaena, presented this.'

1 [Φλαουίω]. See e.g. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 301. For a discussion of various types of police official see P. Turner 42 introd. The restoration here of Marcellus' titulature remains unclear because the dative τῇ εἰρήνῃ does not feature in the posts elsewhere attested. The lacuna could contain around ten letters, but of course spaces may have been left between elements of the titulature. Tribunes are evidenced later as having seemingly similar responsibilities (τριβοῦνος τῆς εἰρήνης or τριβοῦνος τῶν εἰρηνηκῶν), see S. Daris, *Il lessico latino* 113. For the relationship between army and police see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 162.

2 Ἀττίανης. Cf. 24. The name is not attested in this form or as Ἀττίανα in *NB*, *Onomasticon*, Pape-Benseler or Dornseiff-Hansen, *Rückl. Wörterb.*

[τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειῶ]ν πόλεως: see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 288.

3 φερόμενο]ς. Cf. 17.

8 The *πρεσβύτεροι* here are likely to be ecclesiastical. Cf. G. Bastianini, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (*Papyrologica Florentina* VII), 29, and I. F. Fikhrman, *ibid.* 73, with references; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v., provides an extensive survey.

9 τὴν συμβίωσιν. Should we expect the dative, 'to abide by the marriage'? Supposed final ν is extremely dubious and may be illusory, which must greatly strengthen the case for the dative.

10 εἰ δὲ βουληθείη. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, §649.

11 εἰσαγαγούσα. For the *nominativus pendens* cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* i 304 with the references in note 76.

13 ἐρήμων. The word recalls LXX Jeremiah 22: 5, εἰς ἐρήμων ἐστὶ ὁ οἶκος οὗτος.

13-14 ἐπιξενεσάντων. *Addendum lexicis.*

14 For ὕβρεις cf. VI 903 1.

15 *συνχωρήσουσιν*. For the change to the subjunctive (cf. app. crit.) see B. G. Mandilaras, *op. cit.* §598, esp. §598. 3; and cf. ll. 8-9 above.

15-16 *ῥεπούδιον*. See e.g. P. Herm. Rees 29; R. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup> 122; A. Merklein, *Das Ehescheidungsrecht nach den Papyri der byzantinischen Zeit* 64-7.

16 For the *tabularius* cf. XLVIII 3411 3 n. and *RE* s.v. In the present instance, is the *tabularius* acting simply in his capacity as a private notary, cf. in brief A. Berger, *Encycl. Dict. of Roman Law* s.v.? See too A. Merklein, *op. cit.* 53-6. *Βασιλικὸν νόμον* (16-17) refers presumably to the *repudium*-procedure rather than to the mediation of the *tabularius*. Which constitution is meant by *βασιλικὸν νόμον* is not clear. The terms of *CJ* 5. 17. 8 of AD 449 would best suit the legal situation. Alternatives are *C. Th.* 3. 16. 2 (AD 421, effective in the East from 438) and *N. Th.* 12 of AD 439. A date prior to 438, when Constantine's restrictive enactments (see *C. Th.* 3. 16. 1 of AD 331) would have been in force, seems out of the question, were it not that Julian is supposed to have rescinded them *c.* 363; see M. Kaser, *Das röm. Privatrecht* (*Handb. d. Altertums.* X. 3. 2) 120-1; L. Mitteis, *Reichsr. u. Volksrecht* 552; H. J. Wolff, *ZSS R.A.*, 67 (1950), 262. For a list of divorce documents see O. Montevecchi, *La Papirologia* 206; P. Strasb. 142 (AD 391) is an example from the critical period, which must strengthen the case for Julian's repeal and allow 3581 also to be fourth century. *βασιλικὸν νόμον* may thus be a specific reference to this elusive enactment.

18 For post-*repudium* violence cf. P. Lips. 39.

21 *στερρότητα*. Frequent in Byzantine authors, see E. A. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, but not attested in either the *WB* or the *Spoglio*.

24 There is an unexplained mark of ink in the bottom margin (below ι of ἐπιδέδωκα).

### 3582. FRAGMENT OF A LEASE

66 B.28/N(4-5)a

21 × 25 cm

442

Although only the top right-hand corner of the document is preserved, it is none the less of some interest: (a) it contains a reference to the estate of Arcadia, the pious daughter of the emperor Arcadius, and (b) its object seems to be, if τὰ ὑδροπαροχικὰ [ἔργα] has been rightly supplied in l. 7, 'the irrigation operations' in the farmstead of Narcissus, which would place this document among the work contracts rather than the leases. On work contracts from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri bis Diokletian* (Bonn, 1972) 52-60, to whose list on p. 52 XLVII 3354 (AD 257) and PSI XIII 1338 (AD 299) should now be added; there is only one other instance of this type of contract so far from the Byzantine period: P. Vindob. Salomons 8 (AD 325<sup>2</sup>).

The hand is a small, upright cursive. The back is blank.

-- ἐπι]φανεστάτης ἡμῶν δεσποίνης Ἀρκαδίας  
 ---]ι[. ]υ δι[ο]μκητοῦ Αὐρήλιοι Φοιβάμμων καὶ Ἡλίας  
 ----- γ]εωργοὶ καὶ ὑδροπάροχοι ἐποικίου Ναρκίσσου  
 --] οἰκίας· ἐκουσίως ἐπιδεχόμεθα μισθώσασθαι ἐξ ἄλλη-  
 5 - ἔτ]ρουσ ριθ πη σποράς τῆς εὐτυχοῦς δωδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος  
 --- ]ε[. . . ]. [ ε. 10 letters ] ἐποικίου τὰ ὑδροπαροχικὰ  
 ] ἐπεὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς πάντα  
 ] μους ποιῆσαι ἐκ τῆς  
 ] κ[αὶ π]αρασχεῖν τὰ προτελου-  
 10 ] . . . . . ε[. . . . . ] ψ  
 traces of ends of 4 more lines

7 1. ἐπι

‘(To the house of) our most distinguished lady Arcadia, (. . . through you, NN,) steward, the Aurelii Phoibammon and Elias, . . . farm labourers and providers of water of the farmstead of Narcissus . . . of the (aforesaid ?) house. We voluntarily undertake to lease upon our mutual security . . . from the coming year 119 = 88, the sowing of the happy twelfth indiction, . . . (in the . . .) of the farmstead the irrigation (operations . . .) on condition that we do all the . . . and the watering (?) out of . . . and that you (?) provide the advance-payments . . .’

1 Ἀρκαδίας: she has appeared once before in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (P. Med. II 64, dated AD 440); see *PLRE* ii 129.

3 ἐποικίου Ναρκίσσου: called *Ναρκίσσου κτήμα* in XVIII 2197 216 (6th cent.).

5 The sowing for the coming 12th indiction takes place in the 11th indiction which = year 119 = 88 of the Oxyrhynchite era (AD 442/3), on which see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978) 36–42. The present document is likely to have been drawn up at the beginning of that year, i.e. in the autumn of 442.

6–7 τὰ ὑδροπαροχικὰ [ἔργα]: the adjective has not been previously attested.

8 ποτισ]μοῦς? χωματισ]μοῦς?

9–10 τὰ προτελού]μενα: this may refer to an advance payment of wages; wages in work contracts were normally paid, at least partly, in advance; see Hengstl, op. cit. 60.

### 3583. APPLICATION FOR THE TRANSFER OF TAXATION

66 6B.28/K(1)a

19.5 × 31 cm

13 November 444

The papyrus is complete but for the loss of 3–5 letters at the left-hand side. Below the last line, a space of about 13.5 cm has been left blank. The other side of the sheet contains in its upper half 13 lines of personal names in the genitive, some of which have been crossed out; the lower half is blank.

Aurelius Musaeus addresses to the tax-office of the estate of Timagenes a request (*ἐπίσταλμα*) for an alteration in the taxing-lists. As from the beginning of the following indiction, responsibility for the payment of taxes on  $5\frac{7}{8}$  aruras of private land is to be transferred from his father's name to that of another person—presumably, although this is not explicitly stated, the purchaser of the land; therefore Musaeus requests that the taxing-lists be altered accordingly.

Parallel documents are listed in the introduction to P. Warren 3. The earliest example of this kind of document is P. Würzb. 18 (4th cent.), the latest is P. Würzb. 19 (early 7th century; on the date see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Anagenesis* 1 (1981) 97–8).

[+M] ἐτὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίων Μαξίμου τὸ β καὶ Πατερίου τῶν λαμπρ(οτάτων)  
 Ἀθύρ ιζ.

[μερί]δι τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Τιμαγένου διὰ

[. . . ]ου καὶ Θεοδώρου βοθητῶν ἑξακτορίας τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπρ(οτάτης)

5 [᾽Οξυρ]υ]γχιτῶν πόλεως Αὐρήλιος Μουσαῖος Ἀρίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς

[πόλεω]ς· ἀποκουφίσατε ἀπὸ τοῦ {ὀνόματος} ἡμετέρου ὀνόματος

[ἐν τοῖς] παρ' ὑμῖν δημοσίοις χάρταις τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς

[Ἀρίω]νος κτικῆς ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς ἀρούρας πέντε ἡμικυ τέταρτον

[ὄγδ]ρον, (γίνονται) (ἄρουραι) ε[ ] δη||, ἀπὸ κανόνος τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης  
 ἰνδικ(τίονος)

10 [καὶ α]ὐτὰ<ς> χωματίσατε τῷ ὀνόματι Παύλου διασημοτάτου υἱοῦ

[. . . ]ρου αὐτοῦ τελούντος τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παντοῖα δημόσια τελέσματα

[ἀπὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα[άτ]ης ἰνδικτίονος· καὶ πρὸς

[ἀσφά]λειαν τοῦ δημοσίου ταῦτα πεποιήμαι τὰ ἐπιστάλματα

[ὡς π]ρόκειται.

1 and 4 λαμπρς 8 ἰδιωτικῆς 9 ἰνδικ/

‘In the year after the consulship of Fl. Maximus, consul for the 2nd time, and of Fl. Paterius, *virī clarissimi*, Hathyr 17. To the tax division of the estate of Timagenes of noble memory, through . . . us and Theodorus, assistants to the tax-collecting office of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Musaeus, son of Arion, from the same city. Remove from our name in the public lists kept by you under the name of my father Arion five and seven-eighths aruras, i.e.  $5\frac{7}{8}$  ar., of privately owned wheat land as from the *canon* of the fourteenth indiction, and register them to the name of the most eminent Paulus, son of . . . rus, who pays all the various public imposts due on this land from the aforesaid fourteenth indiction, and for the security of the public account I have made this application, as written above.’

3 [μερί]δι: while 1887 (AD 538) and 126 (AD 572) are addressed to the *ἑξακτορικῆ τάξις μερίδος καὶ οἴκου* of Timagenes and Theon respectively, the present text is addressed simply to the *μερίς* or tax-collecting ‘division’ of the estate; on this meaning of *μερίς* see U. Wilcken, P. Würzb. p. 99. On the *οἴκοι* of Oxyrhynchus see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 47–9.

4 The title *λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης* is given to Oxyrhynchus much less regularly in the fifth century than in the fourth; its latest occurrence known so far is in 1960 (AD 511), cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277 ff.

6 The scribe at first forgot to write *ἡμετέρου*, then forgot to cross out the first *ὀνόματος*.

8 *ιδιωτικῆς γῆς*: this category of land is rarely mentioned after the fourth century, by which time most land had passed into private hands; see A. Stollwerck, *Untersuchungen zum Privalland im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten* (thesis, Cologne, 1971) 52–6, to whose list SPP XX 121 (AD 439) and BGU XII 2148 (AD 466 or 375<sup>2</sup>); see R. S. Bagnall–K. A. Worp, *BASP* 15 (1978) 233–5) should be added.

9 The figure for  $\frac{1}{2}$  looks more like ρ, but [δγδ]ρον at the beginning of the line is certain.

11 e.g. [Πέτ]ρου?

## 3584. PETITION

66 6B.27/P(1)a

23.5 × 31.5 cm

Fifth century

The papyrus has suffered some damage on its left-hand side and in its lower half which is badly frayed. The hand is very similar to, and may be identical with, that of 3586. The back is blank but for faint traces of three lines, possibly of numbers.

Apphūs complains to Fl. Strategius about the comarchs of the village of Tampemu where he lives as *ξένος καὶ πάροικος*. The comarchs had apparently tried to chase him out of the village, so he requests Strategius, to whose estate Tampemu belonged, to summon them.

Strategius is here addressed simply as a *curialis*, *πολ(ιτευόμενος)*, see H. Geremek, *Anagenesis* I (1981) 231–47, and as the landowner in charge of the village. The petition must therefore date from the time before he received the title of *comes*. On Fl. Strategius I (= 8), see *PLRE* II 1034.

ΧΜΥ

Φλαουῖω Στρατηγίω τῷ αἰδесίμω πολ(ιτευόμενω) φροντίζοντι  
κώμης Ταμπέμου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀποφούτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης·

- 5 ξένος καὶ πάροικος τυγχάνων ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ  
[κώ]μη καὶ τὸ τέλοςμα ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰρούσης μοι  
[κ]εφαλῆς εὐγνωμον[ῶ] καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος·  
[ο]ὐκ οἶδα δὲ τίνος χάριν οἱ κώμαρχοι τῆς αὐτῆς  
κώμης καινοτομίαν εἰργάσαντο κατ' ἐμοῦ  
10 [. . . . .] βο]υλόμενοι ἐκδιώξαι μετὰ τοῦ τῆς κώμης  
[. . . . .] διὸ πα]ρακαλῶ σου τὴν θαυμασιότητα  
[προστάξαι το]ύτους παραστήναι κ[αὶ ]  
[ c. 10 letters ] . . [ . ] . . ον αγατ[ ]  
κύριε ἐπειδὴ . . [ . ] . . τελῶ καὶ εἰ[ ]  
15 . . . . . ιον . . . . . συ (vac.) [ ]  
[Αὐρήλιος Ἀποφ]οῦς ἐ[πιδέδωκα ]

2 φλαουῖω, πολς

6 ὑπερ

'To Flavius Strategius, the venerable *curialis* in charge of the village of Tampemu, from Aurelius Apphūs of the said village. Living as a stranger and a foreign resident in the aforesaid village, I also pay the impost for my proportion of the capitation-tax every year. I do not know, however, for what reason the comarchs of the said village introduced innovations against me . . . seeking to oust me together with the . . . of the village. I therefore ask your excellency to give orders that these men be brought forward and . . . my lord, since I pay (?) and . . .

I, Aurelius Apphūs, have presented this.'

7 [κ]εφαλῆς: *capitis*, i.e. the abstract unit for personal taxation which was introduced into Egypt in the middle of the 4th century, cf. A. Déléage, *La Capitation du Bas-Empire* (1945) 114 ff.; see also H. I. Bell, P. Lond. V 1793 introd.

εὐγνωμον[ῶ]: there does not seem to be room for εὐγνωμον[ῶν]. For the meaning ('to pay one's dues') cf. P. Amh. II 142. 17; PSI IV 303. 14; P. Masp. II 243. 16; in IX 1223 27, too, the meaning seems to be this rather than 'to behave fairly'.

10 There would be room for *βιαιῶς*, though perhaps not for *ἀδίκως*.

11 e.g. *βοηθοῦ*?, as *τοῦ τῆς κώμης* points to some village official; but whether he has been threatened with expulsion, like Apphūs himself (as the wording seems to suggest), or is associated with the comarchs (as one would expect), is not clear.

13 τ[ could be χ[ : ἀναχ[κἀσαι?

14 The traces seem compatible with ἵπ[ε]ρτελῶ 'I pay my dues', cf. PSI I 66. 22 (5th cent.).

## 3585. PETITION

66 6B.28/N(1-3)a

28.6 × 13 cm

Fifth century

Only the top part of what must have been a fairly large sheet has survived, complete on three sides. The hand resembles that of P. Med. II 45 (AD 449) and that of P. Amh. II 148 (AD 487); it may therefore be assigned to the middle or the second half of the fifth century. The back is blank, except for three lines of shorthand, written along the fibres. There is a *κόλλησις* down the middle of the sheet.

The interest of this fragmentary petition lies in the title and functions of the addressee, Flavius Strategius. According to XVI 1982 of 497, he was a *comes domesticorum* and a land-owner at Oxyrhynchus. We now learn that he was also a *comes consistorii*, a member of the Emperor's inner council (*sacrum consistorium*), and that he was in charge of the Oxyrhynchite part of the estates of Eudocia, who must be Aelia Eudocia, wife of Theodosius II; she died on 20 October 460, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the present petition.

Φλαουῖω Στρατηγίω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμει τῷ

θείου συνεδρίου φροντίζοντι τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτῃ πραγμάτων τῆς

εὐσεβεστάτης καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης ἡμῶν δεσποίνης Εὐδοκίας

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Πτελ τῆς αὐτῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας.

5 Ἀρεώτης ὁ ὑδροπάροχος γεωργῶν τῆ[ν χ]έρσον καὶ μηδὲν παρέχον

. . . . . ]τικ[. . . . .]. ε[

4 Πτελ'

5 ὑδροπροχος

1. παρέχων?



'To Flavius Strategius, the most magnificent and distinguished *comes sacri consistorii*, in charge of business transactions in the Oxyrhynchite nome of our most pious and distinguished Lady Eudocia, from Aurelius Anuthius of the farmstead of Ptel belonging to the said Imperial House. Harcotes the water-supplier who works the irrigated land and does not provide . . .'

1 In the fifth century, the titles *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος* (*magnificentissimus*) and *περίβλεπτος* (*spectabilis*) are often combined and given to *comites*; see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (Giessen, 1930) 28–32. On Fl. Strategius see *PLRE* ii 1034 (Fl. Strategius 8, who may be identical with Strategius 7, the *a secretis* in Constantinople in 475/6).

2 *θείου συνεδρίου*: on the *sacrum consistorium*, see O. Seeck, *RE* IV 1 (1900) 926–32 s.v. *consistorium*; G. Ostrogorski, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* (3rd ed. Munich 1963) 32–3 (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft XII 1. 2).

3 The titles *εὐσεβέστατος* (*p̄issimus*) and *ἐπιφανέστατος* (*nobilissimus*) are the standard titles of emperors in the fourth century; *ἐπιφανέστατος* appears very rarely in documents of a later date but 3582 1 and P. Med. II 64 provide close parallels (SB III 6258 and SB VIII 10074, both from Nubia, are special cases).

4 The locality of Ptel has previously been attested only in XVI 2042. 6. The words *τῆς αὐτῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας* make it clear that it belonged to the Oxyrhynchite estate of the Empress, Eudocia, which appears here for the first time in papyri. On Eudocia, see *PLRE* ii 408–9.

## 3586. PETITION

66 6B.27/P(3)a

26 × 31.5 cm

Fifth century

The sheet of rather coarse papyrus has suffered damage at the top right and bottom left and right corners and in the middle of ll. 5–8. A *κόλλησις* runs down the right-hand margin. The handwriting is very similar to that of 3584.

Fl. Strategius is here addressed as *comes* and steward of the Oxyrhynchite part of the estates of the Empress, very probably Aelia Eudocia as in 3585, which would suggest a date prior to 460 for this petition.

The petitioner, Pamunius, complaining about a burglary at his house, makes two allegations: (1) that the guarantors failed or refused to compensate him for the loss or damage he had suffered (if this is the gist of the damaged lines 6–8, see the notes), and (2) that criminals drove away his four cows, thus reducing him to utter poverty, for which crime he demands that they be brought to justice.

Φλ[α]ουίω Στρατηγίω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπέστατῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ [κόμετι  
φροντίζοντι τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτῃ πραγμάτων τῆς εὐ[σεβεστάτης  
ἡμῶν δεσποίνης παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Παμουνίου υἱοῦ Φ. . . [ . . . . . ἀπὸ  
Συνήρεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. [

5 τὸ πρῶτον, διορυχῆς τολμη[θει]σης εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκείαν . . . . .  
γεγένηται πάντων τῶ[ν] c. 7 ] . . . ν[ . . . . . ] . . . νυκτί, τῶν δὲ  
ὑπευθ[ύ]νων . . . . . [ c. 10 ] ποιη[ . . . . . ] μοι τὸ ἀζήμιον  
ῥαθυμηγάντων κ[ c. 8–9 ] πηνητη[ . . . . . ] . . . . . τὸ δεύτερον,  
ἀπελασία γεγένηται τῶν ἡμετ[έρ]ων κτηνῶν βοικῶν τεσσάρων

7 1. οἰκίαν

9 βοίκων

10 καὶ λοιπὸν εἰς ἐσχάτην πενίαν ἐληλυθ[ώ]ς ἀναγκαίως πρόσειμε[ι]  
τῇ σῆ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ παρακαλῶν προστάξει παρ[ά] τῶν ὑπευθύνων  
γενέσθαι μοι ἐν ἅσπαι τὸ ἱκανόν, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τῶν π[οι]η[σ]α[ν]των  
τὴν παραγωγὴν τοῖς νόμοις πρὸς ἀπολογίαν, μεγαλο[πρεπέ]-  
[τατ]ε κ[όμ]ε[ς] κύριε.

15 [(vac.)? Αὐρηλίου Παμουνίου ἐπιδέδωκα.

10 1. πρόσειμι

12 ἱκανόν

'To Flavius Strategius, the most magnificent and distinguished *comes*, in charge of business transactions in the Oxyrhynchite nome of our most pious Lady, from Aurelius Pamunius, son of Ph. . . , from the village of Senyris in the same nome. Firstly, after an illegal entry had been effected by digging into my house, . . . of . . . all . . . took place . . . in the night, and since the persons who are liable . . . to guarantee me against loss neglected their duty, (on that previous occasion too I applied to . . .?). Secondly, our four oxen have been driven off, and now necessarily, since I have reached the extreme limit of poverty, I approach your magnificence and ask you to order that the guarantors give me satisfaction on all points and furthermore, that the perpetrators be brought before the law to make their defence, my lord, most magnificent *comes*.

'I, Aurelius Pamunius, have presented this.'

1–3 For the titles, cf. 3585 1–3.

3 *δεσποίνης*: the Empress, very probably Aelia Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius, as in 3585 3.  
Φ. . . [ *Φοιβ[άμμωνος* seems possible.

4 *Συνήρεως*: normally spelt *Σενύρεως*, located in the Upper Toparchy, see XIV 1648 36 n.

5 After *οἰκείαν*, only the feet of c. 6–8 letters remain; a word meaning 'theft' or 'removal' seems likeliest, but no suitable one has been recognized.

7 *ὑπευθ[ύ]νων*: his fellow *γεωργοί* and guarantors, i.e. those liable to pay him compensation (*πρὸς τὸ ποιῆ[σ]αι μοι τὸ ἀζήμιον*)

8 κ[αὶ πρότερον ἀ]πήνητη[σα], a reference to a previous petition? After this *τῇ σῆ ἀν]δρεία* may be possible but it does not suit the traces and spacing perfectly. (J. R. Rea).

10 *λοιπὸν* = ἤδη? Cf. D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque*, 32.

13 *παραγωγὴν* = *παράστασιν*, cf. P. Ant. II 97. 9.

V. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3587. REGISTER OF MEN'S NAMES

21 3B.24/F(4)a+/K(1-3)b c. 30.5 x 36.3 cm Late first/early second century

Published by W. E. H. Cockle in *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979) 57-60. Text written parallel to the fibres. The other side contains 3554, Vergil, *Aeneid* xi 371-2, a Latin writing exercise. Its script is also parallel to the fibres. There is no evidence of a kollēsis on either side.

Col. i

(m. 1)

. ιθ[ιθ]

. . . [

] ιφ[

] νδρου

5 . . . [ ] . . . [

(The gap in the numeration is arbitrary.)

10 . . . [ ] . . . [ ρι[

] νωφρις π . . . [

] γρις Ἐρμίου

] κερωτος θαν . . . θ

] ατος Ἐρωτος

15 . [ ] γτατος ιθ

πε . . . [

] ς

] ς[ δ] μοίως

20 . φ . ις . [ ] . . οίς

. φαις[ . ] εων Τξεφμδίτος πανρ . . . [

°Ωρος . [ ] . ο . ος Τξεφμ[δύ] τρος

Ἐφαιστο . . . [ ] αθιος . . . ω . [ ]

13 θαν . . . θ presumably a personal name 15 uncertain whether ιθ or (γίνονται) θ 21 i.e. Ἐφαις[τ]έων for Ἐφαισίων 21-2 Τξεφμδός is an unrecorded personal name, but compare P. Tebt. I 90. 36 (i BC) Τξεφμε( ), a name in the genitive

Φιςβων . . . [ ] φος

25 Φάηρις . [ ] πάμωνος Σαραπίωνος

/ Πειερους [ ] ρ . . . αδελφος

Πιερου[

/ α[

24 Φιςβων . . . [ a new name 25 Φάηρις: for accentuation (not given in pap.) note Chandler, *Greek Accentuation* §64.1 26 Πειερους a by-form of Παϊεύς 27 e.g. Πιερου[ρις cf. P. Ryl. II 220

Col. ii

. . . θης Νεχθερω[<sup>να</sup> ] . . . [ ] . [ ] . [ ]

. . . [ ] . [ ]

(The gap in the numeration is arbitrary.)

(m. 2)

π[

/ Ηφ[

/ Σαρ[

/ Ψοανα[

15 / Πετ . . μ[

/ Αφθ . . [

/ Αρ . ης[

/ Απολλ[

/ Ηφαις[

20 / μερ[ ] . . . [

] . . [

πο . [

/ . . . [ ] οι . . . [

/ . . . [

25 / απ[ ] . λωτας[

/ αχμ[ων[

/ πε . . . ληνταπ . [

14 part of Ψοαναός 15 πετ . . μ[ or τετ . . μ[. The fourth letter is a convex curve to the right of the cross-bar of tau, the fifth the foot of a diagonal descending to the right. Possibly part of Πετραμενοῦφις but the rho is not easily read 17 e.g. Αρβήης or Αρβήης[ις 20 μερ[ or μερ[. The ekthesis suggests a change in the form of the entries here. The village name Μερμέρθα cannot be read. μερ[ι]ςμό[ι]ς is possible rather than probable 25 ] . λωτας[ or ] . λιοτας[: Απ[ο]λλωτάς is possible 26 αχμ[ων: ων is on loose fibres and may not belong so close to mu. If Αχμων[ is read, it is a new name

## 3588. MEMORANDUM FOR A DAY-BOOK

45 5B.54/G(9)a

16 × 19 cm

30 August 157

This document belongs to the archive studied by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* (Stud. Amstelod. V), and is particularly closely related to items 9 and 12 in that book, which also concern the work of a pottery on the family's Lower estate in the year 156/7. No. 9, of 13 June 157, is an authority to pay wages to a potter making wine jars, which are called *οἰνηγὰ κοῦφα*, as in 3588. No. 12 is a request for chaff to be supplied as fuel for the firing of jars—*κοῦφα* again—potted during the year AD 156/7.

This memorandum relates to an entry which was to be made in the day-book (*ἐφημερίδα*) of Matreas, who was a steward of the family estates, see Sijpesteijn, op. cit., p. 13. The entry concerned the accounts of Patas, a local steward in charge of the Lower estate, see id. p. 10. He had taken delivery of a quantity of pitch to be used to coat the interiors of the jars and he had been authorized to make use of it at a rate of so much per thousand jars. The weight that ought to have been used was calculated on the basis of his declared production of jars and this notional weight was subtracted from the total to give a notional remainder. Then the amount actually remaining was weighed and found to be less than had been calculated. The deficiency was to be paid for or perhaps simply recorded in the accounts at the same price that had been paid for the pitch. The price is not stated.

Unfortunately the calculation seems to have gone slightly astray, unless the damaged figure for the weight of pitch allowed per thousand jars is wrongly read. Nevertheless we can probably rely on the figure of 7,165 jars and take it from the wording and the dates towards the end of the year that this was the total production of this type of pitch-lined jar on the Lower estate for the regnal year 156/7.

The writing is likely to be in the same hand as Sijpesteijn, op. cit., Nos. 7 and 9, possibly the same as 10 and 21. Sijpesteijn, p. 19, assesses the probabilities in a slightly different way, pairing Nos. 7 and 10 and comparing the 'very similar handwriting' of 9 and 21. All these texts are orders to disburse money from the account of the family, and have been countersigned, presumably by Matreas, the chief administrator. The bodies of the texts were probably written on his behalf by a clerk in his headquarters in Oxyrhynchus and addressed to a cashier working also in Oxyrhynchus. Though it is of a different type, 3588 too will have been written in the Oxyrhynchus headquarters of Matreas and is countersigned to authorize an entry in the day-book.

The back is blank.

I have had the benefit of reading a typescript dealing with the administration of the estates of this family by D. W. Rathbone, to whom I am most grateful.

κα (ἔτους) Θῶτ β̄. (vac.)

εἰς ἐφημερίδα Ἰουλίῳν Θεῶνος καὶ Θεῶνος  
σημειώσιμον Ματρείου. ἐκ τῆς ἀ[γο]ραθειέης  
τῶ κ (ἔτει) πίσσης ξηρᾶς παρεδόθη [Π]ατᾶ προστ(άτη)  
5 κάτω οὐσίας εἰς πίσσων τῶν παρ' αὐτῶ οἰνη-  
γῶν κούφων ὀλκῆς (τάλαντα) κδ̄, τοῦ τάλαντου ἔχον-  
τος μνάς ξ̄, καὶ τῆς μνάς ἐχούσης στατ(ήρας) μ̄.  
ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ Πατᾶς ἐδήλωσε κατεσκευάσ-  
θαι παρ' αὐτῶ ἕως Μεσο(ρῆ) ἰγ̄ κοῦφα ἀριθ(μῶ) Ζρξ̄ε,  
10 εἰς ἃ παραδέχεται, ὡς τῶν χειλίων πίσσης  
(τάλαντων) γ̄, (τάλαντα) κα καὶ μναὶ κζ̄, ὡς λοιπογρα-  
φείσθαι παρ' αὐτῶ (τάλαντα) β μν(αἰ) λγ, μόνα δὲ  
ἐκ τῆς γενομένης ζυγοστασίας τῆ ἰ̄ τοῦ  
Μεσο(ρῆ) εὐρέθ(η) (τάλαντον) α μναὶ λη, ὡς ζητεί-  
15 θαι μνάς νε̄, τειμῆ ἐκτεθ(ήσεται) τῶν νε̄ ὄσου  
τῶ αὐτῶ κ̄ (ἔτει) ἡγοράς[θ]η. (vac.)  
(vac.)

. [. ]ημ. . ( ) . . ἐφημ(ερίδ-) . . τῆς ἑλασσ(ώσεως)  
πίσση(ς) μν( ) νε.

1 κα1; 1. Θῶτ 3 1. σημειώσιμον 4 κλ, προστ 7 στατ μ̄ 9 μεσο ἰγ̄, αριθ Ζρξ̄ε  
10 1. χιλίων 12 μνξ λγ 14 μεσοευρεθ 15 1. τιμή; εκτεθ 16 κλ 17 εφή, ελασσ  
18 πισσημννε

'Year 21, Thoth 2.

'For the day-book of Julius Theon and Julius Theon under the seal of Matreas:

'From the dry pitch bought in the 20th year there were delivered to Patas overseer of the lower estate, for pitching the wine jars under his control, 24 talents by weight, the talent having 60 minas, and the mina having 40 staters. Since, then, Patas has declared that there were made under his control up to Mesore 13th jars to the number of 7,165, for which are allowed, at 3 talents per thousand, 21 talents and 27 minas, so that the remainder under his control is booked at 2 talents 33 minas, and (since) at the weighing which took place on the 1(3-19)th of Mesore there was found only 1 talent 38 minas, so that 55 minas are missing, a price for the 55 is to be set at as much as it was bought for in the same 20th year.'

(2nd hand) 'I have signed in (?) to (?) the day-book (in respect of?) the deficit 55 minas of pitch.'

1 21 Antoninus Pius = 29 August, AD 157-28 August, AD 158; Thoth 2 = 30 August, AD 157. This date, the second day of the 21st regnal year, suggests that the figures were required for the completion of the annual account for regnal year 20.

Θῶτ. This spelling, less usual than Θῶθ, is also used in P. J. Sijpesteijn, op. cit., Nos. 1. 13, 19. 12, the only places where this month occurs in the archive. Those two documents may be in the same hand, though they are nearly three years apart in date. It is not the same hand as 3588.

2 The *ἐφημερίδα*, obviously a day-by-day account book, has not yet appeared in the other texts of the archive.

3 *σημειώσιμον* = *σημειώσιμον*. This is a new adjective, regularly formed, cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, 27-8. I take it to mean that the day-book was controlled by Matreas, who had to sign or seal an order for each entry to be made.

5 *πίσσαων*. For what is known about the process of lining jars with pitch to make them watertight see *JRS* 71 (1981) 94-5.

6 *κούφων*. We can deduce from the allowance of 3 talents of pitch per thousand jars, see 9-11 n., that these were of the standard capacity of 4 choes, which was customary in the Oxyrhynchite area, cf. *JRS* 71 (1981) 95-6, *Scritti in onore di O. Montevicchi*, 28-9.

6-7 For a similar clause setting out the divisions of the talent see SB XIV 11398. 14-15, together with the note in the first edition by D. Foraboschi, *JJP* 18 (1974) 191. That note refers to F. Hultsch, *Metrologorum Scriptorum Reliquiae*, index s.v. *μνᾶ* (ii p. 196, §8) for evidence of a mina of 40 staters, called the 'Ρωμαϊκὴ ἢ Ἰταλικὴ μνᾶ.

The fact that this mina has 40 staters does not actually enter into the calculations which were made here, though it would have done so if they had been carried to the expected conclusion, see 9-11 n.

9-11 The calculation is not entirely satisfactory. The only damaged figure is the gamma in line 11, yet the traces of it are hard to interpret in any other way and the allowance of three talents per thousand jars is the same as one given in another papyrus, 3596 18-19, cf. 3597 40-4 n. and *JRS* 71 (1981) 89 (17 n.). However, at three talents per thousand, 7,165 jars would require 21 talents 29.7 minas, in other words 21 talents 29 minas 28 staters, not 21 talents 27 minas, which would be correct for 7,150 jars only. If the calculation had actually been carried through, it would have required the use of the information that the mina has 40 staters, see 6-7 n. As it stands, it does not. The rounding down may possibly have been deliberate.

17-18 A plausible reading which would give a tolerable sense is ἐ[ ]ημιωσ(ἀμην) εἰς ἐφήμη(ερίδα) ὑ(πέρ) τῆς ἐλασσ(ώσεως) πίσσα(ς) μν(ᾶς) νε. This wording has been used tentatively in the translation.

## 3589. LEASE OF LAND

15 2B.43/F(d)

14 × 10.5 cm

Second century

Here we have the top of a four-year lease of land, to be cultivated in alternate years with wheat and green crops. Twenty lines are substantially complete and there are remains of three more lines. The back is blank. It is interesting chiefly for the name of a new Oxyrhynchite village, Cercethonis, and for details relating to the topography of two other villages in adjoining toparchies, see 2-4 n., and also for the details of the rents on the two sorts of crop, each payable in wheat, see 5-9 n.

The text is the work of J. R. Rea; much of the information in the commentary was supplied by Jane Rowlandson, of The Queen's College, Oxford, whose D. Phil. thesis on land tenure in the Oxyrhynchite nome during the Roman period will soon be submitted. She has also supplied the following up to date list of Oxyrhynchite leases from 30 BC to the end of the fourth century AD:—

	30 BC-1 BC
P. Rein. II 99 (22-12 BC)	IV 823 (6 BC)
II 277 (19 BC)	SB XII 10942 (4 BC)
	First century
II 374 (AD 6)	II 279 (44/5)
VIII 1124 (26)	PSI IX 1029 (52/3)
II 368 = SPP IV p. 116 (43)	XLVII 3352 (68)

XLIX 3488 (70)

XLIX 3489 (72)

P. Princ. III 147 = SB X 10532 (87/8)

II 280 (88/9)

VI 975 = SB X 10274 (99)

## Second century

XLI 2973 (103)

III 639 (103/4)

XVIII 2188 (107)

XXXVIII 2874 (108)

*Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 72-3 (108/9)

III 590 (112)

XXII 2351 (112)

P. Strasb. 244 (107-116)

PSI VII 772 (98-117)

III 576 (117)

XXXVI 2776 (119)

III 640 (120/1)

III 499 (121)

*Hommages Préaux*, 602 (127)

IV 730 (130)

L 3558 (134)

IV 810 (134/5)

IV 838 (136)

PSI IV 315 (136/7)

IV 729 (137)

X 1279 (139)

*ZPE* 46 (1982) 126-8 (140)

P. Ross.-Georg. II 19 (141)

I 101 (142)

P. Berl. Leihg. I 20 (149)

XXXIII 2676 (151)

P. Mert. I 17 + XIV 1685 (158)

P. Lips. 118 (160/1)

P. Strasb. 534 (pre-161?)

XLI 2974 (162)

PSI VII 739 (163)

XIV 1686 (165)

*Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 74-6 (172)

III 593 = SB XII 10780 (172/3)

SB VIII 9918 (180)

XIV 1687 (184)

I 166 = III 501 (187)

XIV 1692 (188)

P. Fouad 43 (190)

PSI IX 1036 (192)

VI 910 (197)

VIII 1125 (2nd cent.)

P. Harr. 137 (2nd cent.)

BGU IV 1017 (mid 2nd cent.: BL I 88)

*Stud. Pap.* 15 (1976) 126-9 (137 or 158)

L 3589 (2nd cent.)

## Third century

PSI V 468 (200)

P. Yale I 68 = SB XII 11228 (204)

SB X 10263 (205)

XXXI 2584 (211)

BGU IV 1091 (212/13)

L 3591 (219)

XVII 2189 (220)

XIV 1630 (222?)

BGU XI 2126 (222/3 or 232/3 see *JJP* 18

(1974) 243)

P. Oxy. Hels. 41 (223/4)

XVII 2137 (226)

P. Ryl. IV 683 (244)

PSI IX 1069 (247/8)

P. Harr. 80 (249)

XXXVI 2795 (250)

PSI VIII 880 (254/5)

XLVII 3354 (257)

XX 2284 (258)

P. Wisc. I 7 (259/60)

XII 1502 verso (after 260)

L 3592 (between 218 and 261?)

PSI IX 1070 (261)

SB XII 11081 (261)

- XIV 1689 (266)  
 P. Coll. Youtie II 68 (266)  
 P. Coll. Youtie II 70 (272/3 or 278/9)  
 P. Oxy. Hels. 42 (279-81)  
 XIV 1631 (280)  
 PSI III 187 (280/1?: cf. *BASP* 11 (1974) 65-6)  
 P. Mich. XI 610 (282?)  
 SB IV 7443 (285)  
 XIV 1690 (287)  
 XIV 1691 (291)  
 PSI III 178 (291)  
 PSI IX 1071 (296)  
 P. Michael. 23 (296)
- PSI XIII 1338 (299)  
 BGU XIII 2340 (early 3rd cent.)  
 P. Köln III 149 (early 3rd cent.)  
 P. Yale I 70 (early 3rd cent.)  
 P. Michael. 19 (3rd cent.)  
 PSI IX 1072 (3rd cent.)  
 XIV 1688 (3rd cent.)  
 PSI I 73 (3rd cent.)  
 SB VIII 9900 (3rd cent.)  
 SB VIII 9919 (3rd cent.)  
 PSI XIII 1330 (3rd cent.; after 271)  
 SB X 10216 (3rd-4th cent.)  
 P. Amst. I 42 (3rd-4th cent.)

## Fourth century

- I 102 (306)  
 XXXI 2585 (315)  
 XLV 3255 (315)  
 I 103 (316)  
 XLV 3256 (317/18)  
 XLV 3257 (318)  
 XLV 3258 (319)  
 XLV 3259 (319)  
 XLV 3260 (323)
- PSI IV 316 (328/9?: see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 36 n. 1)  
 PSI V 469 (334)  
 PSI VI 706 (335)  
 XIV 1632 (353)  
 PSI IX 1078 (356)  
 PSI I 90 (364)

ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Διογένους ἀπὸ Ὁξυ-  
 ρύγχων πόλεως Θεοτῆ Ζωΐλου τοῦ Θεοτέως ἀπὸ τοῦ πρότερον *Καραπίω-*  
 νος Χαιρήμ[ο]νος ἐποικίου περὶ *Κενεψαοῦ* εἰς ἔτη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ εἰσιόντος δωδεκάτου ἔτους ἃς ἔχει περὶ *Κερκεθῶνιν* ἀρο[ύ]-  
 5 ρας ὀκτώ, ὥστε τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ τρίτῳ ἔτεσι κατ' ἔτος ξυλαμῆ-  
 ραι χλωροῖς ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν εἴκοσι τεσσά[ρ]ων,  
 τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ καὶ ἐσχάτῳ ἔτεσι κατ' ἔτος σπείραι πυρῶ ἀποτάκτου  
 κατ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τετραετίαν κατ' ἔτος  
 ἐκτάκτων σποντῆς δραχμῶν ὀκτώ, ἀκίνδυνα πάντα παντὸς  
 10 κινδύνου τῆς κατ' ἔτος τῶν χωμάτων ἀπεργασίας καὶ ὑδροφυ-  
 λακίας οὐσῆς πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωμένον Θεοτέα. ἂν δέ τις ἄβροχος  
 γένηται, παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ, τῶν τῆς γῆς

5 l. ἔτεσι      9 l. σπονδῆς

κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωκότα. ὁμολο-  
 γεῖ δὲ ὁ μεμισθωμένος ἔχειν παρὰ τοῦ μεμισθω[κό]τος προ-  
 15 χρήσεως δραχμὰς ἑκατόν, ἃς καὶ ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ μηνὶ Φ[α]-  
 μενώθ τοῦ εἰσιόντος δωδεκάτου ἔτους ἀκινδύνους παντὸς [c  
 κινδύνου. κυριεύτω δὲ ὁ μεμισθωκὼς τῶν καρπῶν ἕως  
 τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κομίσῃται. τῆς δὲ μισθώσεως βεβαιουμένης ἀποδό-  
 20 τω ὁ μ[ε]μισθωμένος τῷ μεμισθωκότι τὴν μὲν πρόχρησιν  
 ἀνυπερθέτως, τὸ δὲ κ[α]τ' ἔτος ἀπό[τ]ακτον μ[η]νὶ Παῦνι ἔφ' ἄλλω . .  
 5-10 πυρὸν ν[έ]ξον κ[α]θαρό[ν] γ[ὰρ] ἄδο[λον] ἄκριθον κεκοκκι-  
 νευμένον ὡς εἰς δη[μ]ός[ιον] μετρούμενον  
 c. 15 letters      ]. . [

'Apollonius son of Apollonius grandson of Diogenes from the city of the Oxyrhynchi leased to Thoteus son of Zoilus grandson of Thoteus from the farmstead formerly of Sarapion son of Chaeremon near Senepsay for four years from the incoming twelfth year eight aruras which he possesses near Cercethonis on condition that he plant with green fodder annually in the first and third years at a fixed rent annually of twenty-four artabas of wheat, and that he sow with wheat annually in the second and final years at a fixed rent annually of eighty artabas of wheat, and with a libation payment annually for the four-year period of eight drachmas separately, all free of every risk, the annual work of maintaining the dikes and controlling the water being the responsibility of the lessee Thoteus. If any (area) remains unwatered, allowance shall be made to the lessee, the annual state taxes on the land being the responsibility of the lessor. The lessee acknowledges that he has had from the lessor as an advance loan one hundred drachmas, which he will repay to him in the month of Phamenoth of the incoming twelfth year free of every risk. The lessor is to retain control of the crops till he receives what is his. If the lease is confirmed the lessee shall repay the advance loan to the lessor (without delay?) and pay the fixed rent annually in the month of Payni at the threshing floor(s?) of . . . in new clean wheat, unadulterated, free of barley, sieved as if it were being measured into a public granary . . .'

2-4 The well-attested *epoecium* from which the lessee comes was in the Eastern toparchy, see X 1285 93, XVIII 2182 51, XXIV 2422 42. We learn here that it was in the neighbourhood of Senepsay, which is now known to have belonged to the Western toparchy, see 3556 14-15 n. Consequently we can deduce that there was some shared boundary between these toparchies and that they were not separated by the Middle toparchy.

Cercethonis, on the other hand, is new. There are many village names beginning with the element *Κερκε-*, which probably means 'establishment of (a deity)', see J. Yoyotte in *Rev. d'Ég.* 14 (1962) 86. This is a sort of confirmation of the reading of the two damaged letters, for which the remains are entirely suitable. The second element probably does not refer to Thonis, guardian of the Canopic mouth of the Nile, see Herod. ii 113-15, cf. G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* 500, P. Osl. III 143, but to a cult title of Horus, see P. Köln IV 202. 1 n..

We may probably deduce that Cercethonis was close to Senepsay and to the *epoecium* of Sarapion son of Chaeremon, and was therefore either in the Western or the Eastern toparchy. This is to take the likely, but not certain, view that the lessee lived in the *epoecium* and worked the land near Cercethonis himself.

3 ἐποικίου. On the nature of an *epoecium* see *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie*, IV (Pap. Brux. 19), 177-85.

*Κενεψαοῦ*. Elsewhere the spelling is *Κενεψαύ*, see 3556 14-15 n. For such variants cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 215, 230.

4 εἰσιόντος. Oxyrhynchite leases are usually dated in the first four months of the year in which the term of

the lease begins, see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 95-6. Other exceptions like this in which the lease is dated earlier are XXXI 2584 and *Hommages Préaux*, 601-8. Only slightly anomalous is SB IV 7443, drawn up on Tybi 4 of the first year of the lease, i.e. four days later than Herrmann's rule allows. Leases of dates show more pronounced abnormalities, e.g. III 639, XIV 1632, but these arise probably from the different seasonal cycle of the crop.

δωδεκάτου ἔτους. The absence of the *nomen* Aurelius clearly indicates a date before the *constitutio Antoniniana*. The writing is of an undistinguished type which would usually be assigned to the second century, though to be on the safe side one might allow 11 Domitian, AD 91/2, as a possibility. The other possible reigns are those of Trajan, AD 107/8, Hadrian, AD 126/7, Pius, AD 147/8, Marcus, AD 170/1, and Severus, AD 202/3.

ἀς ἔχει. Cf. II 277 3 (19 BC). The regular formula indicating ownership is τὰς ὑπαρχούσας. Therefore we may wonder whether this one indicates less than full ownership, cf. XLI 2974 8-10 ἀς καὶ αὐτὸς τυγχάνει ἔχειν ἐν μεθώσει.

5-9 The provision for crop rotation is not unusual in Oxyrhynchite leases, cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 237-8, D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 50-5, 67-71.

Although the rent for the even-numbered years, in which wheat was sown, is at 10 a/a (= artabas per arura) among the highest known in the nome, it conforms with the overall patterns which can be observed in cases where the relations between rents on wheat and green crops can be studied. The patterns are as follows:

(a) Until the early second century AD the predominant green crop mentioned in the leases was ἄρακος or ἄραξ, a leguminous plant not yet precisely identified, see M. Schnebel, *op. cit.* 185-9, P. Vindob. Sijpesteijn 8. 11 n. Rent on it was set in wheat, usually c. 2 a/a, except that in XXII 2351 an option of 2 a/a or a money rent of 24 drachmas per arura was allowed.

(b) Where the green crop is called χόρτος the rent was normally in money. It is not known precisely what χόρτος was, though the evidence indicates that it sometimes meant not only grass, but fodder crops in general, and sometimes meant grass as opposed to other green crops, see M. Schnebel, *op. cit.* 212-14. However, it tends to occur in the leases as a sole crop, whereas in leases which specify crop rotation the term χλωρά took over from ἄρακος/ἄραξ as the normal green crop. Evidently χλωρά means 'green crops', but the precise difference between it and χόρτος is not known.

(c) Rent on χλωρά was also usually in money, but there are other exceptions besides 3589. What is noteworthy is that of the leases which specify crop rotation, those which allow a rent entirely in kind, i.e. on both cereal and green crops, set a rent noticeably higher on the wheat than do those which specify payment in money on the green crop. Thus the rent in 3589 of 10 a/a on the wheat, although among the highest known rents charged in the nome, in fact conforms to a pattern observable also in XVIII 2188, XXXVI 2776, PSI IX 1072, by implication also in XXXVIII 2874, *Hommages Préaux*, 602, all including rents on wheat of c. 10 a/a. The rent of 8 a/a on the wheat in P. Harr. 80, although lower than those just mentioned, is still noticeably higher than the other rents on wheat in the same period.

9 For extra payments called σπονδαί see *Symb. Osl.* 17 (1937) 26-48, cf. J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 116-17.

10-11 Mention of works connected with the water supply is rather rare in Oxyrhynchite leases, cf. IV 729 7-8, XLIX 3488 28, 3489 18, PSI IV 315. 22-3. Similar phrases are also found in sales, see IX 1208 21, X 1270 39 (see BL I 333 for both), XIV 1700 17, P. Fuad Crawford 21. 22-3, P. Wisc. I 9. 25-6.

13-17 On advances in money and grain see J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht*, 129-33. Other advances in money in Oxyrhynchite leases are SB X 10274, PSI IX 1078 (προχρεία in both), VIII 1125 (πρόχρησις), IV 729 (προχρεία 13, ἑτέρα πρόχρησις 17); cf. perhaps XXXI 2583 14 (πρόχρησις: money not specified; in III 640 the πρόχρησις is of wheat).

The lease was concluded before Thoth 1 of whatever twelfth year is referred to in 4 and 16, see 4 n. Therefore the loan could have run for at least seven months. Probably the term was not much longer.

20-1 The end of l. 20 is damaged and there may have been some overwriting. When rent was delivered at a threshing-floor, it was most commonly that of the village where the land lay, but there are enough exceptions to make it unwarranted to restore the name of Cercethonis, see *Hommages Préaux* 602, *Stud. Pap.* 15 (1976) 126-9, PSI VII 739—villages or *epoecia*, probably all nearby, P. Berl. Leihg. I 20, XLVII 3354, II 277—private threshing-floors, again all close to the land.

Wording also varies. For example, we may expect either ἄλω or ἀλώνων, and the name of the village or *epoecium* may or may not have the article.

## 3590. ORACLE QUESTION AND ANSWER

45 5B.54/E(1-2)<sup>a</sup>

6.5 × 5.2 cm

Second/third century

This small slip, worm-eaten but otherwise complete and containing a question to the oracle of Thonis, belongs to a well-known type: see A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 115-19. To his bibliography add XLII 3078 (where in 6 I read . α. [ ] Νειλάμμων. [ , a reference to the petitioner); H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 253-7; G. M. Browne, *Illinois Classical Studies* 1 (1974) 56-8 and *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi* (Beitr. z. kl. Phil. 58 (1974)) 24, and P. Vindob. Salomons 1. See too M. Gronewald and D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 289-93; P. Köln IV 201-2.

The interest of this example centres on the inclusion in 6 of what purports to be an answer to the petitioner's question, the single word ναί. This is most unexpected in the context of paired questions as discussed by, among others, Henrichs, *op. cit.* This last line is possibly in a second hand; the point is crucial for the interpretation. If it is in the original hand, presumably it served to emphasize which of the two slips submitted was the positive one. If it is in a second hand, then (a) it may be the priest's added confirmation on his return of the positively-expressed slip to the petitioner, or (b) it could have been added in jest by an unconnected third party.

Written in a plain and frequently unligatured cursive; the back is blank. There are occasional irrelevant ink-marks. There is a kollema-join level with the line-beginnings, overlapping unexpectedly right over left; the question was written on a slip cut from the roll and turned upside down, cf. 3591 introd.

κύριε Θῶ[ν]ι;  
εἰ θέλεις Διο[γ]ένην  
. . . η[. . .]μ[. . .]. ου ἦλθα  
. [ . ]. πρὸς σέ, τοῦτό  
5 μοι δός.  
(m. 2?) ναί.

'My lord Thonis. If you wish Diogenes to . . . (?), . . . came before you, give me this (chit).' (2nd hand?) 'Yes.'

1 For another question addressed to Thonis and for a short discussion of his cult see P. Köln IV 202 and 1 n. A Diogenes, see l. 2, features in the Cologne papyrus as well, which may also be Oxyrhynchite, but the hands are not the same and there is no reason suppose that the two formed a pair.

3 The damaged first part of the line must presumably conceal an infinitive, most probably with Διο[γ]ένην (2) as its subject, and ἦλθα/ἦλθαμεν (see 3-4 n.) will come in a subordinate clause.

3-4 ἦλθα. Possibly ἦλθα|μ[ε]ν? For the forms see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* ii (1981) 340-1. It is theoretically possible that a letter or two has been lost at the end of 3.

## 3591. LEASE OF LAND

No inv. no.

7.5 × 35.2 cm

18 September 219

A four-year lease of land near the village of Mermertha in the Upper toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. It is in the form of a private protocol, standard in Oxyrhynchus, see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 122-7. Further examples concerned with the same village are IV 823 (description; 6 BC), BGU XIII 2340 (early 3rd cent.), 3592 (between AD 218 and AD 261?), PSI IX 1070 (AD 261?), XIV 1689 (AD 266), P. Coll. Youtie II 70 (AD 273/4 or 278/9), and PSI IV 316 (AD 328/9?, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 36 n. 1).

A sheet join running vertically in the left margin shows that this narrow strip was cut from a roll in the normal way. The right hand sheet overlaps the left, that is, the clerk turned his piece upside down, cf. 3590 introd. He took care not to write across the join, which would have presented an obstacle to his pen. The repeating pattern of worm holes shows that the piece was stored in the form of a tiny roll made by rolling the strip up fairly tightly with the top inside, cf. 3560, 3592, introductions. The verso is blank.

- (m. 1) ἐμίθωσεν Αὐρήλιος  
 Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Κά-  
 στωρ γυμνασιάρχης καὶ  
 βουλευτῆς τῆς Ὀξυρυγχει-  
 5 τῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ Σα-  
 ραπίωνι Ἀθηνοδώρῳ  
 τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς  
 αὐτῆς πόλεως εἰς ἔτη  
 τέσσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 10 τος γ (ἔτους) τὰς ὑπαρχούσας  
 αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς κοιωνοῖς  
 αὐτοῦ περὶ Μερμέρθα ἐκ  
 (m. 2) Μετόκου καὶ Μετόκ(ου) (m. 1) ἀρούρας δέκα  
 ὥστε κατ' ἔτος σπεῖραι καὶ  
 15 ξυλαμῆσαι πυρῷ χλωροῖς  
 ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐκφορίου καὶ φό-  
 ριου καὶ φό}ρου ἀποτάκτου κα-  
 τ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἐν θέματι ἀρ-  
 ταβῶν εἴκοσι ἐπτὰ καὶ δρα-

1 initial ε corr. from α      6 l. Ἀθηνοδώρου      10 γς

- 20 χμῶν διακοσίων ὀκτῶ ἀ-  
 κίνδυνα πάντα παντὸς  
 κινδύνου[ν] τῶν τῆς γῆς κα-  
 τ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄντων  
 πρὸς τοὺς γεούχους οὐδ'  
 25 κὲ κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶν  
 [εἰ]ως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμε-  
 να κομίσωνται. ἐὰν δέ τις  
 τοῖς ἐξῆς ἔτει, ὃ μὴ εἴη, ἄβροχος γ(ένηται) ' πα-  
 ραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμι-  
 30 σθ[ωμ]έ[ν]ω. καὶ βεβαιουμέ-  
 νης τῆ[ς] μισθώσεως ἀποδό-  
 τω ὁ μεμισθωμένος τ[ὸ]ν μὲν  
 φόρον τῷ Παῦνι μηνί, τὸν δὲ  
 πυρὸν ἐπάναγκον μετρίτω  
 35 εἰς δημόσιον θησαυρὸν εἰδίαις  
 ἑαυτοῦ δαπάναις, οὐδὲ κὲ θέμα κα-  
 θαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων ἀναδό-  
 τω τῷ μεμισθοκότῳ ὑπὸ τῆν  
 πρώτην ἐκάστου ἔτους μέτρη-  
 40 σιν ἀνυπερθέτως. κυρία ἢ μί-  
 σθωσι[ς]. (ἔτους) γ Ἀυτοκράτορος  
 Καί[ς]αρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβο[ῦ]ς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Θῶθ κ.  
 45 (m. 3) . . Αὐρήλ(ιος) Διοσκουρίδης γυ-  
 μ[ν]α(σιάρχης) καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζω) μεμίθω-  
 κα ὡς πρόκειται[ι].

25 l. καί      26-7 l. ὀφειλόμενα      28 γ.?  
 32 l. μεμισθωμένος      34 l. μετρίτω  
 35 l. εἰδίαις      36 l. καί      38 l. μεμισθοκότῳ      41 l. γ  
 45 αὐρή      45-6 γυ|μ[ν]α|ς  
 46 χρ?

'Aurelius Dioscurides, alias Castor, former gymnasiarch, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, has leased to Aurelius Sarapion, son of Athenodorus, grandson of Sarapion, from the same city for four years from the present third year the ten aruras belonging to him and his partners near Mermertha from (2nd hand) the (allotment) of Metocus and Metocus (1st hand) to sow and plant year by year with wheat and with green crops half and half at a fixed rent in kind and cash per year of twenty-seven artabas of wheat on deposit and two hundred and eight drachmas, everything free of any risk, while the annual taxes on the land are paid by the

landowners, who remain in possession of the crops until they receive the annual dues. But if in the succeeding years any of the land fails to be irrigated, which heaven forbid, there shall be a reduction for the lessee. And if the lease is confirmed, the lessee will pay the cash rent in the month of Payni, and will necessarily measure the wheat into the public granary at his own expense, and he shall make deposit of the wheat free of all additional charges to the lessor promptly at the time of the first measurement of each year. The lease is valid. Year 3 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 20. (3rd hand) I, Marcus (?) Aurelius Dioscurides, former gymnasiarch, and however I am styled, have made the lease as is specified above.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alpha, probably for *Αὐρήλιος*, was begun, and was converted to the first epsilon of *ἐμίσθωσεν*.

Aurelius Dioscurides, alias Castor, does not appear in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarques*, or in the supplement, id., *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* 103-17, or in the lists of councillors and prytaeis of Oxyrhynchus in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 131-47.

<sup>13</sup> *Μετόκου και Μετόκ(ου)*: read by Professor H. G. T. Machler. The names are inserted in a second hand in a space left blank. The word *κλήρου* or *κλήρων* has been omitted for lack of space, cf. the omission of the word in XXXVI 2776 8 and 13. For allotments with two names see F. Zucker in *Festschrift Oertel*, 105. The allotment of Metocus and Metocus is not in P. Pruneti, 'I kleroi del nomo ossirinichite', *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244.

<sup>19-20</sup> The rent is equivalent to 2.7 artabas and 20.8 drachmas per arura. Comparative material is given in D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht*, 26-8.

<sup>20-1</sup> *ἀκίνδυνα*. Cf. J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 143-5.

<sup>25</sup> *Ὁν κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶν* see A. Kränzlein in *Akten des XIII. Int. Pap.-Kong.*, Marburg 1971 (1974), 215-24, and J. Herrmann, op. cit. 140-42.

<sup>28</sup> *Ὁν ἄβροχος* see J. Herrmann, op. cit. 161. Four-year leases with this clause are listed by T. T. Renner in *BASP* 7 (1970) 24 n. 5, cf. 3589 11-13.

<sup>30-1</sup> On the *βεβαίωσις* clause see J. Herrmann, op. cit. 153-60, and H. J. Wolff in *JJP* 1 (1946) 64-7.

<sup>35</sup> The public granary at Mermertha is attested in P. Sorb. I 17 a 12, b 13 (267 BC), XLIV 3179 3 (3rd cent. AD) and II 276 12 (AD 77), as corrected by Z. Borkowski (P. Oxy. XLV, p. xv). Cf. A. Calderini, *ΘΗΚΑΥΡΟΙ* (Studi della Scuola Papirologica di Milano, Vol. IV, Parte III), 32, 67.

<sup>40</sup> For the *κυρία* clause see M. Hässler, *Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel*, and H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 145-6.

<sup>41-4</sup> 3 Elagabalus = 219/220; 218/19 had been a leap year, so that Thoth 20 = 18 September. On the regnal years of Elagabalus see *ZPE* 13 (1974) 228-30.

<sup>45</sup> The traces at the beginning of the line are confused and complicated by stripping of the surface fibres. The second trace is an oblique stroke rising to the right. Possibly *μ.* for *Μ(ἄρκος)* was written, or even *μ[αρ]*. Nothing else is expected at this point and even this is not essential. It is possible that something was written and then cancelled.

## 3592. LEASE OF LAND

17 2B.56/E(a)

7.3 × 17.5 cm

Between 218 and 261?

A four-year lease of land near the village of Mermertha, cf. 3591 introd. The lessee is a priest of the ram-god of Mendes, a cult previously unattested in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

The Aurelius names show the date to be after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Therefore the second regnal year mentioned in line 6 cannot be earlier than the second year of Elagabalus, AD 218/19, and it is very unlikely to be later than the second year of Macrianus and Quietus, 261/2, because the name of the city is accompanied by no honorific title, see D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-92, esp. 288-9.

The text is written in a rapid hand with some similarity to XXXVI 2795 (AD 250) and P. Coll. Youtie II 67 (AD 260/1). Again the pattern of worm damage shows that the

papyrus was rolled up into a tiny roll with the top inside, cf. 3560, 3591, introductions. The verso is blank.

ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Ζωΐλος  
 Διογένου ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεω(ς)  
 Αὐρηλίω Θώνει Πολλάτος μητρο(ς)  
 Ταῦσειριος ἀπὸ κώμης Μερμέρθω(ν)  
 5 ἱερεῖ Μένδητος θεοῦ μεγίστου  
 εἰς ἔτη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους)  
 τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν αὐτῆ(ν)  
 Μερμέρθα ἐκ τοῦ Σπαρτάκου καὶ Ἐρ-  
 μοκράτους κλήρων ἀρούρας πέν-  
 10 τε ἡμιцу τέταρτον ἢ ὄσαι ἐὰν ὦσι  
 ὥστε κατ' ἔτος σπείραι καὶ ξυλαμη-  
 και πυρῶ χλωροῖς ἐξ ἡμισειας, ἐκ-  
 φορίου καὶ φόρου ἀποτάκτου κα-  
 τ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν εἴκοσι τεσ-  
 15 σάρων καὶ δραχμῶν ἐνενή-  
 κοντα ἕξ, ἀκινδύνων παντὸς  
 κινδύνου, τῶν τῆς γῆς κατ' ἔτος  
 δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν με-  
 μισθώκοτα, ὃν καὶ κυριεύειν  
 20 τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀ-  
 φειλόμενα κομίσεται. ἐὰν δέ τι[ς],  
 ὃ μὴ εἴη, ἄβροχος γένηται, παρα-  
 δεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισθωμέ-  
 νω, ὃς καὶ βεβαιουμένης τῆς  
 25 μισθώσεως ἀποδότω τὰ κατ' ἔτος[ς]  
 ὀφειλόμενα μηνὶ Παῦνι, τὸν δὲ  
 πυρὸν ἐφ' ἄλλω τῆς κώμης νέον  
 καθαρὸν ἄδολον [. ] ἄβωλον  
 ἀκριθὸν κεκοσκινευμένον  
 30 .]. [. ]. [

2 οξυρυγ'χωνπολεῶ

3 μητρο

4 μερμερθῶ

6 βς

7 αὐτῆ

8 I. τῶν



landowners, who remain in possession of the crops until they receive the annual dues. But if in the succeeding years any of the land fails to be irrigated, which heaven forbid, there shall be a reduction for the lessee. And if the lease is confirmed, the lessee will pay the cash rent in the month of Payni, and will necessarily measure the wheat into the public granary at his own expense, and he shall make deposit of the wheat free of all additional charges to the lessor promptly at the time of the first measurement of each year. The lease is valid. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 20. (3rd hand) I, Marcus (?) Aurelius Dioscurides, former gymnasiarch, and however I am styled, have made the lease as is specified above.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alpha, probably for *Αὐρήλιος*, was begun, and was converted to the first epsilon of *ἐμίθωσεν*.

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<sup>19-20</sup> The rent is equivalent to 2.7 artabas and 20.8 drachmas per arura. Comparative material is given in D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht*, 26-8.

<sup>20-1</sup> *ἀκίνδυνα*. Cf. J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht* 143-5.

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 Αὐρηλίω Θώνει Πτολλάτος μητρὸ(ς)  
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 τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν αὐτῆ(ν)  
 Μερμέρθα ἐκ τοῦ Σπαρτάκου καὶ Ἐρ-  
 μοκράτους κλήρων ἀρούρας πέν-  
 10 τε ἡμικυ τέταρτον ἢ ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦσι  
 ὥστε κατ' ἔτος σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆ-  
 ραι πυρῶ χλωροῖς ἐξ ἡμικείας, ἐκ-  
 φορίου καὶ φόρου ἀποτάκτου κα-  
 τ' ἔτος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν εἴκοσι τεσ-  
 15 σάρων καὶ δραχμῶν ἐνενη-  
 κοντα ἕξ, ἀκινδύνων παντὸς  
 κινδύνου, τῶν τῆς γῆς κατ' ἔτος  
 δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν με-  
 μιθωκότα, ὃν καὶ κυριεύειν  
 20 τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀ-  
 φειλόμενα κομίσεται. ἐὰν δέ τι[ς],  
 ὃ μὴ εἴη, ἄβροχος γένηται, παρα-  
 δεχθήσεται τῷ μεμιθωμέ-  
 νῳ, ὃς καὶ βεβαιουμένης τῆς  
 25 μιθώσεως ἀποδότω τὰ κατ' ἔτος[ς]  
 ὀφειλόμενα μηνὶ Παῦνι, τὸν δὲ  
 πυρὸν ἐφ' ἄλλω τῆς κόμης νέον  
 καθαρὸν ἄδολον [. ] ἄβωλον  
 ἄκριθον κεκοσκινευμένον  
 30 .]. [. ]. [

2 οξυρυγ'χωνπολεῶ

3 μητρὸ

4 μερμερθῶ

6 βς

7 αὐτῆ

8 l. τῶν

'Aurelius Zoilus, son of Diogenes, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi has leased to Aurelius Thonis, son of Ptolas, whose mother is Tayseiris, from the village of Mermertha, priest of Mendes the very great god, for four years from the present second year the five and three-quarter aruras or thereabouts which he owns near the same village of Mermertha from the allotments of Spartacus and Hermocrates to sow annually with wheat and plant with green crops half and half at an annual rent in kind of twenty-four artabas of wheat and a fixed annual rent of ninety-six drachmas, guaranteed against all risk. The annual public dues on the land rest with the lessor, who is to remain in possession of the crops until he receives the annual dues. And if any of the land fails to be irrigated, which heaven forbid, there shall be a reduction for the lessee. And if the lease is confirmed, the lessee is to render the annual dues in the month of Payni, the wheat on the threshing-floor of the village, new, clean, unadulterated, free of earth, free of barley, sieved, . . .'

3 Thonis in Egyptian is perhaps *tnr* (*tl*), 'strong' (H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* i 381. 18); or better *Dion*, a cult name of Horus at Oxyrhynchus, see J. Yoyotte, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 16 (1958) 426, J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen* ii 705 No. 812, P. Köln IV 202. 1 n.

4 Tayseiris is theophoric, in Egyptian *ts-(nt-)wstr*, 'the handmaiden of Osiris'. Banebdjed, the ram-god of Mendes, is early assimilated to Osiris and described as the soul of Osiris, see H. De Meulenaere and P. MacKay, *Mendes* ii 179.

5 *Μένδητος θεοῦ μέγιστος*. The eponymous ram-god of the Mendesian nome in the Delta, in Egyptian Banebdjed, is the senior member of the Mendesian triad with Hatmehit the dolphin goddess and their son Harpocrates. He is identified severally with the soul and the phallus of Osiris, the souls of Ra, and the ram-god of the south and Elephantine Khnum, see H. De Meulenaere and P. MacKay, *Mendes* ii 178-81.

Outside the Mendesian nome his cult is found in Alexandria, Arsinoe (*RE* xv. i 782), Sehd near Assuan (A. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, Description of a Hieratic Papyrus* 15 n. 1) and Busiris (Heracleopolite), where as a *θεὸς μέγιστος* he is associated with Ammon, Chonsis, and Harpocrates, see BGU IV 1202. 2-3 (19 BC).

If Aurelius Thonis worked in person on the lands he leased, it is likely that the temple he served was at Mermertha. The cult of Mendes was previously unattested in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

8-9 *ἐκ τοῦ* (l. *τῶν*) *Σπαρτάκου καὶ Ἑρμοκράτους κλήρων*. For two cleruchs' names in association see F. Zucker in *Festschrift Oertel* 104-5. The allotments of Spartacus and Hermocrates are new, i.e. not listed in P. Pruneti, 'I kleroi del nomo ossirinichite', *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244. However, Spartacus is possibly to be identified with the father of the cleruch Apollonius at Mermertha in P. Coll. Youtie II 70. 10 *ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Σπαρτάκου κλήρων* (AD 273/4 or 278/9). According to Dr W. M. Brashear (letter of 27 February 1980) *Σπαρτάκου* cannot be read in BGU XIII 2340. 7-8 [*περὶ Με*] *βμέρθα* *ἐκ τοῦ* [*ἔ*] *Ἀπολλωνίου* 18 [ ] . a . . ου κλήρων.

14-16 The rent is equivalent to 4.18 artabas and 16.64 drachmas per arura. For comparative material see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht*, 26-8.

15 The second nu of *ἐνεθήκοντα* was written over something which had been imperfectly washed out.

### 3593. INSTRUCTIONS TO A RHODIAN BANK ABOUT SLAVE SALE

32 4B.7/N(3)a

Fr. 1 24.2 × 25.0 cm  
2 7.0 × 7.1 cm

238-244

This document was first published by John F. Oates in *JEA* 55 (1969) 191-210 with plate after an infra-red photograph by Eric Hitchcock (plate slightly reduced; same photograph in P. M. Fraser's publication, see below, at original size). The text has been improved by suggestions made by a number of scholars: (1) J. Schwartz, *CdÉ* 45 (1970) 173-5; (2) H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 169 (= *Scriptiunculae* ii, no. 72, p. 977); (3) P. M. Fraser, *BSA* 67 (1972) 113 ff. and facsimile; (4) H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 145-7;

(5) *id.*, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 209. The discovery of another scrap of papyrus bearing the handwritings of scribes 1 and 2 has allowed some additional progress to be made. Some tiny scraps not mentioned by the first editor have also been placed.

It was at first thought that the new scrap, published as 3594, was actually part of 3593. However in *Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 42-3 E. G. Turner observed that 3593 is written along the fibres, 3594 is written across them, the back being blank in both cases. The evidence from diplomatic that separate texts are involved is confirmed from a study of the contents. Both documents, however, may be part of the no doubt considerable dossier setting out different elements in the sale which is touched on below.

The witness in 3594 is called Aurelius Quintus son of Hilarus. Since Hilarus is the patronymic of the seller in 3593, suspicion fell on the original reading of his name as *Ἀύρηλιος Ἐπίμαχος* (9-10), which was based on the appearance of this name in two other places (15, 36). In fact, the name is very badly damaged. The remains are entirely suitable for *Κυῖντος*. If we read it so, col. i may well fall into a known format for sales: *ἀπέδοτο . . . Ἀύρηλιος Κυῖντος* (7-10) . . ., [*ἐπρί*] *ατο* (?) *Ἀύρηλιος Ἐπίμαχος* . . ., see 15 n. The seller's name can now be recognized too in virtually identical subscriptions in each column.

The additions made by the second, third, and fourth hands have every appearance of being identical in cols. i and ii. I have used them, as others have, reciprocally for restoration. The part of the text that has resisted a satisfactory decipherment is the main body of the first scribe's entry at the head of col. ii (ll. 36-44). Enough can be made out, however, to demonstrate its syntax (36, 44 nn.) and to make it probable that its content was different from the corresponding passage in col. i. If a difference of content is accepted, then the preferred hypothesis of the first editor, that the text was a record of sale and of purchase (sale in col. i, purchase in col. ii), must be rejected in favour of his second hypothesis, that sales of two separate objects were recorded. Since they are set out on a single sheet of papyrus, the record was of direct benefit to only one of the parties. But it need not follow that these documents were not of interest to the purchaser. They might well have formed part of an extensive dossier proving title, which, it might reasonably be thought, flowed from every sale at auction sponsored by the state bank of Rhodes. If this is the right view of the matter, 3594 may have formed a part of this postulated dossier. It might further be suggested that intending purchasers and vendors both made a considerable deposit with the bank before the auction, leaving transfer of purchase price to be effected by the bank's officers through a transaction recorded in its books. The instruction given by the vendor recorded in the handwriting of a Rhodian citizen in the form *χρηματίσατε* would mean 'credit me with the purchase price'; the same instruction issued by the purchaser would mean 'debit my deposit', but that is clearly not what we have in col. ii here. Presumably the bank would take an adequate commission.

In the commentary that follows attention is concentrated on those points where the text differs from that of ed. pr. The first editor's general comments retain their value and

are not repeated. Valuable also is the sketch of the Rhodian banking system offered by P. M. Fraser (3).

The handwriting deserves a fuller characterization than was offered in ed. pr. The scribe who wrote the body of the text (i 1-16, ii 29-44) was a competent professional, writing a clear, medium-sized rounded chancery hand. It is not far removed in style from contemporary chancery hands from Egypt, but there is a perceptible difference, which is more than its marked backwards lean; its loops are at once bolder and more condensed, and its idiosyncratic character distinguishes it from the practised hands of the officers M. Aurelius Dionysius and of Eutyches, both of which could readily be paralleled from Egypt. The writing is basically bilinear, but the top line wavers; ρ and φ and one form of ι usually have long descenders. Prominent descending obliques or verticals often begin with a flourish and end in a finial. δ inside a word or group of letters (e.g. δε i 4) may take the form of a Latin D. λ takes on an exaggerated obliquity, its first arm almost a descender, ο can be very tiny indeed. Groups of letters are often associated to form distinct words, and this tendency is especially noticeable in the case of names. Certain groups of letters may be united in a distorting ligature: ι with preceding vowel (especially the idiosyncratic αι), π with following vowel (see especially πε i 7, πο i 9). Paragraphs are marked by bold ecthesis (the paragraphus sign is not used) together with an enlarged initial letter. Words may be shortened without mark of abbreviation. A letter terminating a word or a sentence usually has an exaggerated tail. The second hand is that of a slow writer making ill-formed clumsy separated letters.

## col. i

Ἐπὶ κτίστου καὶ σωτήρος τῆς πόλεως  
 Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου  
 Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
 Σεβαστοῦ (vac.) ἐπὶ δὲ ἱερέως τοῦ ἡλίου  
 5 Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου Ἀθαναγόρα δις  
 καθ' ὑ(οθεσίαν) μηνὸς Δαλίου  
 Ἀπέδοτο διὰ τὰς ἐγγαίου τραπέζας  
 ὑπὸ κάρυκα Μάρκον Ἀύρηλιον Διονύσι-  
 10 ον τρις τοῦ Ἀπρονήτου Ἀύρηλιος Κυίν-  
 τος Ἰλάρου Καίσαρεὺς τη. [ c. 10 letters  
 . . . . . [ . ] . . κοράσιον ὀνόματι Βικ. [  
 c. 5 ] . . 'Ρουφεῖναν ὡ[ c ] ἑτέων δεκ[  
 c. 5 γέ]ξει Μαῦρον τειμῆς δηναρίων

4 ἱερέως 6 καθν: no mark of abbreviation 7 l. ἐγγαίου 10 ἰλαρου 12 l.  
 'Ρουφίαν 13 l. τμῆς

5-10 ] πενήκοντα. (vac.)  
 15 ἐπρί]ατο Ἀύρηλιος Ἐπίμαχος κ. [  
 . . . ] . . . (vac?)  
 (m. 2) Ἀύ[ρηλι]ο[ c ] Κ[υεῖντο]ς Εἰλάρου  
 χίρα [χ]ρη[κάμενο]ς παρὰ Μά[ρκου]  
 Ἀύ[ρηλιου] Εἰρη[νίωνος το]ῦ καὶ Διο[νυσί-  
 20 ου 'Ροδί[ου διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ] ἀγράμματον  
 ὑπάρχειν Μάρκω [Ἀύ]ρηλίω  
 Διονυσίω Εἰάσονος [κα]θ' ὑ(οθεσίαν) καὶ Καλ-  
 λικράτει θε. . . . [ . χα]ίρειν. χρη-  
 ματίσατε. (vac.)  
 25 (m. 3) Δα(λίου) ε. Μᾶ(ρκος) Ἀύρη(λιος) Διονύσιος Ἰάσον[ος] κ[α]θ' (ὑοθεσίαν)  
 χρ. . . . .  
 ἄρχων τραπεζίτης [ἐγγαίου] κεχρ(ημάτικα).  
 (m. 4) Δα(λίου) ε. Εὐτύχης νεωκ[ό]ρος οἴκο(υ) τῆς πό-  
 λεως κεχρ(ημάτικα).

## col. ii

(m. 1) ἐ]γγαίου Fr. 2  
 30 Ἐπὶ κτίστου καὶ σωτήρ]ος τῆς πόλεως  
 Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσα]ρος Μάρκου  
 Ἀντωνίου Γορδια]νοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
 Σεβαστοῦ (vac.) ἐπὶ δὲ] ἱερέως τοῦ ἡλίου  
 Μάρκου Ἀύρηλιου] Ἀθαναγόρα δις  
 35 καθ' ὑ(οθεσίαν) μηνὸς Δαλ]ίον (vac.)  
 c. 10 letters Ἐπι]μάχου καὶ ὡς χρη-  
 ματίζει c. 12 letters ]ακ[  
 [ ] ]

17 l. Κυίντος Ἰλάρου 18 l. χείρα 22 l. Ἰάσονος; κα]θν? cf. 6 25 δ ε μανρ<sup>η</sup>,  
 ἰάσον[ος]κ[α]θ 26 l. τραπεζίτης; κεχρδ 27 δ ε, οικ<sup>ο</sup> 28 κεχρδ 29 l. ἐγγαίου  
 36-7 The estimate of number of letters lost is based on the distance between the first surviving letters and an  
 imaginary opening point constructed by producing the starting-point of 31-5 in a downwards direction, cross-  
 checked by the placing of ]μαχου in 36

- 5-9 ] . . . χ[  
 40 ] ὡς ἐτέ[ων  
 ἀ]κολουθ[  
 ]ρι. υτου[  
 ]. . [. . .] δηγ[αρίων] πεν-  
 τήκο]ντα (vac.)  
 45 (m. 2) Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Κυεῖν[το]ς Εἰλ[άρου χίρα  
 χρησάμενος π[α]ρὰ Μάρ[κου Αὐ-  
 ρηλίου Εἰρηνί[ω]ωνος τ[οῦ καὶ]  
 Διονυσίου 'Ρο[δ]δίου δ[ιὰ τὸ]  
 ἐμὲ ἀγράμματον [ὑπάρ-  
 50 χειν Μάρκου Αὐρηλ[ίω Διο-  
 νυσίω Εἰάσονος καθ'] (ὑθεσίαν) καὶ  
 Καλλικράτει θεο[ῶν] . . . [  
 χαίρειν' χρη[μ]ματίσατ[ε].  
 (m. 3) Δα(λίου) ε Μ(άρκος) Α(ὐρήλιος) Διονύσιος 'Ιάσονος καθ'  
 (ὑθεσίαν) χρ. [. . .] [  
 55 ἀρχων τραπεζίτης ἐγγαίου κε[χρ](ημάτικα).  
 (m. 4) Δα(λίου) ε Εὐτύχη[ς νεω]κόρος οἴκο(ν)  
 τῆς πόλεω[ς κεχρ](ημάτικα).

39-44 A different basis has been used for estimating loss: the starting-point surviving in 45 ff. has been produced vertically upwards (the underlying assumption of continuous alinement may be false, cf. the case of 17) and the surviving beginnings of 35-43, which form a straight vertical edge, have been positioned by their relationship to the end of 44 42 ]ρι. : a or λ 45 l. Κύντος 'Ιάρου 47-53 The writer has reduplicated one or more letters: in 47 after Εἰρηνη, in 48 after Ρο, in 53 after χρη. In 49 he left a blank space between the two mus of ἀγράμματον. Schwartz (1) notes these errors in his transcript, and Youtie (4) p. 145 n. 4 supposes a bad patch of papyrus surface in these three lines. The surface does not appear to be damaged in any of them. The trouble probably was that a strip of vertical fibres missing from the back was already missing in antiquity, so that the weakened surface moved under the weight of the pen in these places and the letters had to be repeated more clearly. 50 l. Μάρκω 51 l. 'Ιάσονος 54 δ ε μ α ' ἰασονοκαθ 55 l. τραπεζίτης ἐγγαίου; κε[χρ]ξ 56 δ ε, οἴκ<sup>ο</sup>

col. i 'When the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus was founder and saviour of the city; and during the priesthood of the sun held by Marcus Aurelius Athanagoras, son of Athanagoras, but styled after his adoptive father, the month Dalios.

'Aurelius Quintus son of Hilarus of the city of Caesarea . . . has sold through the landed bank under the herald Marcus Aurelius Dionysius son of Dionysius son of Dionysius who was son of Aponetus a slave girl called Vic . . . (alias?) Rufina aged [between 10 and 19], a Moor by race, at a price of . . . 50 denarii. Aurelius Epimachus . . . has bought (her)?

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Quintus son of Hilarus, borrowing the handwriting of Aurelius Eirenon also called Dionysius, Rhodian, because I am myself illiterate, to Marcus Aurelius Dionysius son of Jason, but styled after his adoptive father, and to Callicrates . . . greeting. Transact the business.'

(3rd hand) 'Dalios 5. I, Marcus Aurelius Dionysius, son of Jason, but styled after my adoptive father, . . . , archon, banker of the landed bank, have transacted the business.'

(4th hand) 'Dalios 5. I, Eutyches *neokoros* of the treasury of the city have transacted the business.'

col. i. 5-6 The name of the adopting father, which is actually known from an inscription, see P. M. Fraser (3) p. 113, is not given. For *dic* see commentary on ii 34.

9 *Ἀπονήτου*. The name was suggested in correspondence by P. M. Fraser and confirmed on the original. π ligatures to ο in the same way as it ligatures to ε in i 7.

10-11 Possibly the seller comes from Caesarea in Mauretania, see ed. pr., cf. 13. His Latin nomenclature suits this hypothesis, but it has not proved possible either to read or to exclude τῆς *Μαυρετανίας* here.

11 ff. The pattern of the dark stain, which runs obliquely downwards from l. 11 and has removed progressively more of the line beginnings and made the whole of l. 16 illegible, suggests that damp has removed the ink while leaving the surface intact.

11-12 We expect a name such as Victorina here and an expression meaning 'alias', such as τῆν καί, ἐπὶ κληρ, ἐπικαλουμένην.

12-13 δέκα in the age statement may be part of a compound, δεκ[αδύο to δεκ[αενέα, followed by γέ]ρηι.

14 [χειλίω] would have the advantage of length over [έκατόν], but nothing can be read.

15 ἐπρί]ατρ. Some doubt attaches to this restoration because most of the examples of the ἀπέδοτο|ἐπρίατο formula come from a restricted Egyptian group, but H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 191-2, n. 36, argues persuasively that it is a genuine Greek form, citing especially as a non-Egyptian example P. Dura 25. This word is also slightly short for the available space, but it seems likely that it was written on a more generous scale, like ἀπέδοτο in 7. The strongest argument in favour of the restoration is the crying need in any document relating to a sale for the buyer's name to be mentioned.

15-16 In 36-7 we have 'Ἐπι[μάχου καὶ ὡς χρη[ματί]ζει. Here κα[ὶ] ὡς] χρ[η]μ[ατί]ζει cannot be excluded, but we might expect a more particular description.

17-28 The damp damage, see 11 n., means that the remains of most of the dotted letters in this area are extremely scanty and could not be read without the aid of the parallels, especially in 45-57.

17-24 The names in 17 are supplied by 3594. By comparison with it and the corresponding lines in col. ii (i.e. 45-53) the passage can be restored practically in its entirety. The suggestions of Schwartz (1) and Youtie (2) are confirmed. The seller has to find a Rhodian citizen to write for him, since he is illiterate (Youtie (4), (5)).

18, cf. end of ii 45 χίρα accusative, not χίρι dative, to give effect to the notion of borrowing in *χρησάμενος* (Schwartz (1), Youtie (4) (5)).

19 Αὐ(ρηλίου). There is no mark of abbreviation. Probably the writer inadvertently skipped from the first hypsilon to the second.

22 κα]θ' ὑ(θεσίαν). The traces are extremely faint, but seem to suit καθυ, cf. 6, rather than καθ, cf. 54. In 51, which would have been the best parallel, since it is in the same hand, only καθ] remains.

22-3 Cf. 52. It was pointed out in ed. pr., *JEA* 55 (1969) 204, that Callicrates, like Eutyches (27, 56), but unlike the other persons involved, does not have the Antonine *nomen*. P. M. Fraser has argued, *BSA* 67 (1972) 115, 117-8, that Eutyches was probably a slave, and this seems the obvious explanation in the case of Callicrates too. If so, what follows his name cannot be a patronymic. More likely it is a title. The remains after θε in 23 are minimal. In 52, the corresponding place in col. ii, omicron seems virtually certain after θε, followed by remains which suggest parts of the upright and the lower arm of kappa, and then after a narrow gap by very small traces from the bottoms of about two letters. It is tempting to restore in these places θεοκόρ[ω] (23), θεοκόρ[ω] (52), see *LSJ Suppl.* s.v. <sup>×</sup>θεοκόρος, citing only Hesychius, *κεικόρος*: νεωκόρος. θεοκόρος, θεραπευτής θεών. This entry, with its Laconian catchword equated functionally with νεωκόρος and etymologically with θεοκόρος, fits plausibly with the scattered Doricisms of this document and with the fact that Callicrates, θεο . . . , in these passages is replaced by Εὐτύχη[ς νεωκόρος] in the corresponding subscriptions below (27-8, 56-7). Eutyches may have been the successor of Callicrates, or a member of the same college of officials. It looks as if θεοκόρος might have been a traditional Doric title in Rhodes and as if it might be rendered into common Greek as νεωκόρος. Note, however, that Fraser (3) takes νακόρος to be the expected form in Rhodes, and that a guild of *Νακόρειοι* is attested from Camirus, *IG* 12 (1). 701. 12. (Incidentally, *κεικόρος* may come from Alcman, see *XXIV 2387*<sup>17</sup> 6 ]δεκακειοκ. [. The minute trace, on an isolated horizontal fibre, could well be from the lower left quadrant of omicron.)

25 Δα(λίου) ε: Youtie (2). For χρ. . . . see 54 n.

27-8 νεωκ[ό]ρος οἴκος(ν) τῆς πόλεως. Cf. 56-7 νεω[κ]όρος οἴκος(ν) τῆς πόλεως. Though each passage is damaged, the combination of them gives a strong guarantee of the reading. This context, which connects religious and banking affairs, suggests that the meaning of οἴκος here is 'treasury', cf. *LSJ* s.v. (2) and (3), *RE* VIA col. 3. P. M. Fraser (3) draws important inferences from the archaic title of νεωκόρος about the antiquity of the Rhodian banking service and its independence from Rome.

For the οἴκος τῆς πόλεως of Rhodes we can compare from Egyptian texts P. Fay. 87. 4-5 (AD 155) and O. Bodl. I p. 180, item H (2nd-3rd cent.), both mentioning the οἴκος πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρέων. The οἴκος πόλεως of P. Fay. 88. 5 (3rd cent.) may be the same, though the editors guessed that Arsinoe was the city concerned. In PSI V 449.6 (c. AD 312) there is a reference to the οἴκος τῶν Ἀντινοέων. These documents relate to real property belonging to the οἴκοι, but this does not invalidate the suggestion that the usage derives from the meaning 'treasury'.

col. ii. 29 It is tempting to restore ἄλλο διὰ ἐγγαίου *vel sim.*

34 For ΔΗ of ed. pr., Schwartz (1) suggested δνς (written in error for δίς) meaning 'son of a like-named father', as Fraser translates. The 'correction' (but with a different and false interpretation) was accepted by H. C. Youtie (2). Close scrutiny of the original shows that δίς is the reading of the papyrus. The supposed horizontal forming the right branch of ν is not ink but a prominent fibre.

36 The name of Epimachus is in the genitive case; ὡς χρηματίζει implies a prior description of the person concerned, see 15-16 n. The genitive seems to exclude a repetition of Ἐπίμαχος as subject of a repeated ἐπρίατο.

40-2 It does not seem possible to fit in here the description given in col. i of the girl sold.

41 e.g. ἀ]κόλουθ[ον or ἀ]κολούθ[ωσ.

42 πε]ρὶ αὐτοῦ [, ed. pr. ]ριλύτου[ i.e. ἀπε]ριλύτου[ is another possible reading of this line (e.g. ἀκολούθωσ τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις διὰ ἀπεριλύτου συγγραφῆς or the like).

44 The name of Aurelius Epimachus and consequential verb which occurred in i 15-16 is not repeated.

54 χρ. [ . . . ]. Ed. pr. offered χρη[ ]; Schwartz (1) favoured χρμ[, which was approved by Fraser (3). The disputed letter certainly lacks the tall serified upright with which eta usually begins in this hand. This is probably not the name of the adoptive father (e.g. Chrysermus, Chryseros), since in this document it is not usually given, see 6, 22, 35, 51. More likely it is a title, but it has not been identified. Neither χρυσώνης nor χρυσαμοιβός, which are conceivable titles for a banker, see R. Bogaert, *Banques*, 43, 47, will suit the traces after the gap. These are on a small scrap which appears in the bottom right corner of the photographs in ed. pr. and in Fraser (3), but which needs to be placed a little higher and a little to the left, so that the long curve of the abbreviation mark of κε[χρ]§ in 55 is continuous.

### 3594. GREEK DIPLOMA WRITTEN IN RHODES

38 3B.81/F(1-3)a

11.4 × 10.2 cm

238-244 (?)

This scrap, found in the previous season of excavation in Behnesa to that in which 3593 was found and also written in Rhodes, was at first thought to be a new portion of that document. Further study has shown that it is a different document, issuing from the same scribal office, and probably of the same date (ll. 4-7 nn.). The main body of the text was written by the principal scribe (m. 1) of 3593, and shows the same characteristics of writing and lay-out (bold ecthesis and enlarged letter at ἐπράχθη l. 4). The second hand signs on behalf of the same illiterate person as he did in 3593. The backs of both 3593 and 3594 are blank, but 3593 is written along the fibres, 3594 across them. Different persons and a different legal transaction are involved, but the two texts may belong to the same

dossier. It is likely that the person who carried 3593 to Oxyrhynchus also carried this text there.

The nature of the transaction is obscured by loss of most of the body of the document. Even in the subscriptions the number of letters lost at the right could amount to forty or more (ll. 5-7 nn.). Lines 9-12 written on behalf of an illiterate by the second scribe (the same second scribe as in 3593) contain a witness's attestation (ἐμαρ[τυρησάμην l. 11]). The document was in diploma form and will have contained both inner and outer text.

Roman consular and month dating and the phrase ἐπράχθη ἐν Ῥόδῳ (l. 4 = *actum est Rhodi*) raise the question whether this scrap records the translation (ἐρμήνεια) of a Latin document. Insufficient remains for a positive answer. Against the theory of a translation is the dating also by Rhodian official (priest of the Sun) and the involvement of different hands. The subscriptions show that the text is an original, not a copy.

(m. 1) ]ρ. [

Κάρπου (vac.) ε[

Αὔρηλιου Κύντου [

ἐπράχθη ἐν Ῥόδῳ [

5 Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβαστῶ κ[αὶ

Ῥοκτωβρίων (vac.) ἐπ[ὶ κτίστου καὶ σωτήρος τῆς πόλεως

Αὐτοκράτορος Κα[ίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ

Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ·

ἐπὶ δὲ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἥλιου Μάρκου [

(m. 2) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κυεῖ ἂν Ῥοκτωβρίων χεῖρ[α χρησάμενος

παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Εἰ-

10 ρηνίωτος τοῦ κὲ Διον[υσίου Ῥοδίου διὰ τὸ ἐμὲ ἀγράμ-

ματον ὑπ[α]ρχεῖν ἐμαρ[τυρησάμην c. 14/16? ὡς προ-

γέγραπται (vac.) [

(m. 3) Κάρπος . [ . . . ] . . . [

3 κύντου 8 ἱερέως 9 l. Κύντος Ἰλάρου End, in ε of χεῖρ, ι altered to ε 10 l. καὶ  
11 In *ὑπάρχειν* the scribe, before he had inserted second hasta of π, began to make α and had to cancel it by horizontal stroke and superposed dot

4 ff. 'Done in Rhodes [in the consulship of the Emperor . . .] Felix Augustus and [of . . .] of October, when the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus was founder and saviour of the city, and during the priesthood of the sun held by Marcus . . .'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Quintus son of Hilarus, borrowing the hand of Marcus Aurelius Eirenion also called Dionysius, Rhodian, owing to myself being illiterate, have testified [(that) . . .] as aforewritten.'  
 (3rd hand) 'Carpus . . .'

2 *Κάρπον*: the name recurs written by third hand (autograph?) in l. 13 as that of a signatory.

The line, which is not markedly frequent, is borne by artisans (Pape-Benseler), servants, and slaves (SB III 7182.7 etc., P. Köln IV 187.19, XLIV 3197 9). The simple name here without *nomen* or patronymic suggests the possibility that 13 should be restored δ[ούλος].

ε[: restore ἐ[πὶ μάρτυρος *vel sim.*?

4 *ἐπράχθη* = *actum est* (not *factum*, as in *The Terms Recto and Verso*, Pap. Brux. 16, p. 43).

The line continues with the name of an emperor or consul. Since the local dating (6-8) also includes the name of an emperor, it is likely that the emperor here too is Gordian as in 3593, holding the position of *κτίστης* and *σωτήρ* of the city (the uniqueness of which in a dating formula is stressed by P. M. Fraser). In that case, the year will be 239 (Gordian's first consulship: the last letter of l. 5 is κ, not δ[(for δίκ)], and the Emperor's colleague will have been M. (= M?) Acilius Aviola, whose name followed by *ὑπάτοις*, a figure, and one of *Kal., Non., Idus* in Greek will have stood in the missing part of the line—at least 30 letters, and more if abbreviations were not used.

6-7 If the emperor's titles as *founder* and *saviour* are restored without abbreviation, more than 50 letters are needed in l. 7, but l. 6 remains unexpectedly short.

8 If the argument outlined in n. on 4 is sound, it is likely that the same priest of the sun should be inserted here, viz. *Μάρκου [Ἀύρηλιου Ἀθανασίου δις καθ' ὁθεσίαν]*, followed by *μηνός* and a mouth name.

9-11 Down to *ὑπάρχειν* the formula used by Eirenion, signing on behalf of Aur. Quintus, can be restored in the exact terms used in 3593. Presumably Eirenion also called Dionysius again added the ethnic 'Rhodian' as there.

11 Presumably *ἐμαρ[τυρησάμεν x γεγενῆσθαι ὡς προ]γέγραπται*.

13 *Κάρπος*, ? δ[ούλος, cf. 2 n. above. α[ is also possible. The meagre traces of the tops of letters at the end are not identifiable.

### 3595-7. THREE LEASES OF POTTERIES

A publication of 3595 and a discussion of the evidence which all three leases contribute to our knowledge of pottery manufacture have been given in *JRS* 71 (1981) 87-97. The commentaries here are intended to be read as supplements to that article.

#### 3595.

36 4B.99/J(6)a

13.8 × 29.5 cm

5 September 243

Ἀὐρ[ηλίας Λε]ονταροῦτι καὶ Πλουσία καὶ ὡς χρηματίζεται διὰ Ἀὐ-  
 ρ[ηλίου . . .] οδώρου ἐπιτρόπου παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίου Παήσιος Ἐφαιστᾶ-  
 τ[ος μητρο]ς Θαϊκούτος καταγενομένου ἐν κώμῃ *Κενέπτα*  
 κε[ραμείως ο]ἰνικοῦ κεράμου. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι  
 5 ἐπὶ χρόνον ἔτη δύο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνός Θωθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 ζ (ἔτους) τὸ ὑπάρχον ὑμῶν ἐν ἐποικίῳ μεγάλῳ κτήματος περὶ *Κενέ-*  
*πτα* κεραμ' ἐ' ἴον οἰνικοῦ κεράμου σὺν ταῖς τούτου καμάραις

1 l. χρηματίζετε

3 θαϊκούτος; l. καταγενομένου

6 ζς, ὑπαρχον; l. ὑμῶν

καὶ καμίνῳ καὶ λίθῳ κεραμευτικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρη-  
 στηρίοις, ἐπὶ τῷ με κατ' ἔτος πλάσαι ὑμῶν καὶ ὀπτῆσαι  
 10 καὶ ὑποκαῦσαι καὶ πισσῶσαι κούφα Ὁξυρυγχειτικά τετάρ-  
 χ[ο] λεγόμενα ἀριθμῷ μυρ<ι>άδα μίαν καὶ πεντακιςχει-  
 λια, διπλοκέραμα ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα, δίχρα ἑκατὸν πεν-  
 τήκοντα, ὑμῶν παρεχουσῶν χοῦν χαυνόγιον  
 καὶ ἀμμόγειον καὶ μελ[ά]γγειον καὶ πρὸς τῇ καμίνῳ  
 15 τὰ αὐτάρκη καύματα καὶ ὕδατα εἰς τὴν δεξαμεγνὴν  
 κα[ε] πρὸς πιρσοκοπίαν πίρσης ὀλκῆς μέτρῳ Ἀλίνης  
 ὡς τῇ[ν] 'c' μυρ<ι>άδας μίαν τάλαντα εἴκοσι ἕξ, ἐμοῦ δὲ παρέ-  
 χοντος ἑμαυτῷ τοὺς αὐτάρκεις πλάστας καὶ ὑπουργοὺς  
 καὶ ὑποκαύστας καὶ λαμβάνοντος ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ μόνων  
 20 τῶν ἀπλοκεράμων ὡς τῶν ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς τριάκον-  
 τα δύο καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκτάκτου τῆς μυριάδος οἴνου κεράμια δύο  
 ὄξους κεράμια δύο. τὰς δὲ συναγομένας τῶν μισθῶν  
 δραχμὰς τετρακιςχει<λί>ας ὀκτακοσίας ἀπολήψομαι κατ' ἔ-  
 25 τος ταῖςδε ταῖς δόσεσι, ἀπὸ Θωθ ἕως Παχῶν κατὰ μῆ-  
 να δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας, Παῦνι Ἐπειφ εἰς ὑπόκαυσιν κατὰ μῆ-  
 να δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας, Μεσορῇ τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς  
 διακοσίας. ἐὰν δὲ μετὰ τὸν προκείμενον ἀριθμὸν ἕτε-  
 ρα κούφα πλάσω καὶ τούτων χρεῖαν ἔχηται, ἕξεσται ὑ-  
 30 μῶν βασταῶσι αὐτὰ λαμβάν[ο]ντός μου παρ' ὑμῶν  
 τὸν ἴσον μισθὸν καὶ τὴν πίρσαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καθ' ὁμοιό-  
 τητα τοῦ προκειμένου ἀριθμοῦ. βεβαίουμένης δὲ μοι  
 τῆς ἐπιδοχῆς παραδώσω τὰ προκείμενα κούφα ἐ-  
 35 πὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ κεραμεῖον ψυγμῶν ἀπὸ χιμε-  
 ρινῆς πλάσεως καλῶς ὠπτημένα καὶ πεπιρσοκο-  
 πημένα ἀπὸ πυθμένος μέχρι χειλῶν μὴ πειδῶ(ν)-  
 τα χωρὶς θεραπευσίνων καὶ <ε>πικινῶν ἑκάστου τετρα-  
 χόου χωροῦντος μέχρι χεῖλου κοτύλας Μαξιμια-  
 νὰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου παραδώσω τὸ αὐ-  
 τὸ κεραμεῖον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ σποδοῦ καὶ ὀστράκων,

8 l. καμίνῳ 9 l. ὑμῶν 10 πισσῶσαι: 2nd c corr. from ω; l. Ὁξυρυγχειτικά 10-11 l. τετράχρα  
 11-12 l. πεντακιςχίλια 13 l. χαυνόγειον 14 l. μελάγγειον, καμίνῳ 17 μυρ<ι>άδας: v corr.  
 from η, l. μυριάδος 23 l. τετρακιςχίλιας 28 l. ἔχητε 28-9 l. ὑμῶν 33-4 l.  
 χιμερινῆς 35-6 πειδῶ<sup>36</sup>τα; l. πιδῶντα 36 l. θεραπευσίμων 37 l. χεῖλους

40 γεινομένης τῆς πράξεως ὡς καθήκει, μένοντος  
 τοῦ λόγου περὶ ὧν ἐὰν φανῶ ὀφείλων. ἢ ἐπιδ[ο-  
 χῆ κυρία καὶ ἐπερω[τ]ηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. (ἔτους) ζ' '  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ  
 Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Θῶθ ζ'.  
 45 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Παῆσις Ἑφα[ιστᾶ]τος μεμίσθωμαι τὸ κερα-  
 μείον καὶ ποιήσομαι τῆ[ν πλά]σιν τῶν προκειμένων  
 κούφων μοιρίων καὶ π[εντακ]ιχειλίων, διπλοκερά-  
 μων ἑκατὸν πενήκ[οντα], διχῶν ἑκατὸν πενή-  
 50 κοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπάνω μισθοῦ [καὶ] ἐκτάκτων καὶ παραδώ-  
 σω ὡς πρόκειται, κα[ὶ] ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρή-  
 λιος Θεών ὁ καὶ Ἀσ[κληπιάδης ἔγρα]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰ-  
 δότος γράμμ[ατα, μένοντος τοῦ] λόγου ὡς ἐπάνω δεδή-  
 λωται. . . [ ] (vac.)  
 [ ] (vac.)

40 l. γεινομένης 42 ζ' ζ'' 47 l. μοιρίων, πεντακιχειλίων 49 ἐκτάκτων, ὧν corr. from οὐκ

'To Aurelia Leontarus(?) and Aurelia Plusia and however you are styled through Aurelius . . . odorus your guardian from Aurelius Paësis son of Hephaestas and Thaisus who lives in the village of Seneptha, a potter who makes wine jars. Of my own free will I undertake to take on lease for a period of two years from the current month Thoth of the present seventh year the pottery for the making of wine jars which belongs to you in the large farmstead of your estate around Seneptha together with its store rooms, kiln, potter's wheel, and the other equipment on condition that each year I make for you, fire, refire, and coat with pitch what are termed Oxyrhynchite four-chous jars to the number of fifteen thousand, one hundred and fifty double ceramia, and one hundred and fifty two-chous jars, while you provide the friable earth, the sandy and the black earths, sufficient firing material for the kiln, water for the cistern, and for coating with pitch twenty-six talents of pitch in weight by the measure of Aline for the ten thousand jars and I provide for myself sufficient potters, assistants, and stokers and receive for the price of the single ceramia only, thirty-two drachmas per hundred and as special payment for the ten thousand jars two ceramia of wine and two ceramia of sour wine. The total payment of four thousand eight hundred drachmas I shall receive annually in the following instalments: from Thoth to Pachon four hundred drachmas a month, in Payni and Epeiph for firing five hundred drachmas a month, and in Mesore the remaining two hundred drachmas. If over and above the aforesaid number I make other jars and you have need of them, you will be able to take them provided I receive from you the equivalent price and the pitch and the other things in the same way as for the aforesaid number. If my undertaking is confirmed, I shall hand over the aforesaid jars on the drying-floors of the said pottery from the winter manufacture, well fired and coated with pitch from the foot to the rims, not leaking and excluding any that have been repaired or are blemished, each four-chous jar holding up to the rim twenty Maximian cotylas and at the end of the period I shall hand over the said pottery free from ash and sherds. The right of execution is as is proper and the account of whatever I may appear to owe shall remain outstanding. The undertaking is irrefutable and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. The seventh year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 7.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Paësis son of Hephaestas, have taken the pottery on lease and shall carry out the making of the aforesaid fifteen thousand jars, one hundred and fifty double ceramia, and one hundred and fifty

two-chous jars for the above price and special payments and I shall hand them over as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Theon, also called Asclepiades, wrote for him because he is illiterate. The account is outstanding as specified above.'

8 λίθος κεραμευτικός. In ed. pr. this was translated without comment as 'potter's wheel', which is probably correct, but T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes* 40, could find only one mention of the potter's wheel in the papyri, viz. P. Lond. I 121. 867 (p. 112), τροχού [κε]ραμικοῦ. This is in a magic spell. In P. Mich. V 238, a register of contracts, there are two allusions to λίθοι κεραμικοί, viz. 143 ὁμο(λογία) . . . ἐνυκῆ(σεως) λίθο(υ) κερα(μικοῦ), 181 ὁμο(λογία) . . . πρά(σεως) λίθου κεραμικο(ῦ). The editors' interpretation is given in 143 n., as follows: 'The term λίθος κεραμικός does not appear elsewhere but on the analogy of λίθος μηλοκοπικός (= μύλο-; PSI III 237. 9) it seems to mean a stone used in making pottery, perhaps as part of the potter's wheel. This interpretation will make sense both after πράσις and after ἐνοίκης. A ὁμολογία ἐνοικῆσεως usually is an agreement to furnish lodgings, and here it may well be an agreement to provide such in return for the loan of a stone used in the manufacture of pottery.' Even more relevant to our passage is P. Tebt. II 342, which concerns the lease of a pottery, 16-17 κεραμείον σὺν πάσι χρηστ(ηρίοις) καὶ λίθοις ἀρεστοῖς ἐξηρτισμ(ένον) πάσι κεραμε[υ]τικ(οῖς) β . . . , 'pottery together with all furniture and with stones in good order, and supplied with everything including two potter's tools (?) . . .' A note comments on the awkwardness of the grammar. The sense is also awkward. With our parallels and with the aid of P. Amh. II 93. 8, where ἐξηρτισμένον ἄπασι clearly means 'with all the fittings', we can change the expansion of ἐξηρτισμ(ένον) in P. Tebt. 342. 17 to ἐξηρτισμ(ένους) and revise the translation as follows, 'a pottery together with all appurtenances and with two potter's stones (= wheels?) in good order with all the fittings'. There is no positive proof that λίθος is the equivalent of τροχός, but there is no other obvious piece of equipment which needs to be mentioned. In the detailed account of Egyptian potter's wheels given by R. Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: the Pottery. The Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia, VI* (1977) 31-2, the materials envisaged for the construction are wood and, because of the red colour used in some depictions of them, fired clay. However, it seems quite plausible that a heavy stone wheel, which would conserve its momentum well after its rotation had reached the necessary speed, would be useful for the throwing of large wine jars. That a wheel would have been used for the jars there is no doubt, cf. e.g. U. Wilcken, *Gr. Ostr.* I 16.

Dr Helen Whitehouse has drawn our attention to the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* xi. 3 (1981) 127-33, where Dr C. A. Hope has identified two pairs of stones as parts of Egyptian potters' wheels, possibly the bearings of fast kick-wheels. One stone of each pair has a circular well which fits a corresponding rounded projection on the other. Evidently one was to spin while the other remained stationary as a pivot. It is not certain that these stones are relevant to our λίθος κεραμευτικός, but it is interesting that the material is stone, granite in one case, perhaps a basalt in the other. Dr Hope refers to similar stones from other parts of the Near East and cites V. G. Childe's account of ancient devices for rotary motion in C. Singer *et al.*, *A History of Technology* i, 187-215, esp. 194-204.

10-12 By the analogy of this passage, together with 3596 11-12 and 3597 8-9, we can with virtual certainty correct XVII 2153 4-5 from (τετρά)χ(ορα?) Ἐρλβ, διπ(λᾶ) ρκα, δίχο(ρα?) λζ, to (τετρά)χ(οα) Ἐρλβ, δι(πλοκέραμα) ρκα, δίχο(α) λζ. Similarly in P. Mich. inv. 347. 19-21, in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 130, we should read α' ληνοῦ (τετρά)χ(οα) ψκ, δι(πλοκέραμα) ι', β' ληνοῦ ὁμο(ίως) (τετρά)χ(οα) ωμζ, δι(πλοκέραμα) ι'.

53 There is a short space after -λωται and then two traces of ink at the level of the tops of the letters. Though the bottom edge of the sheet is missing, it appears from the content and from the blank space at the bottom right that the document is virtually complete. One possibility here is χ[ρό(νος) ὁ α(ὐτός)], 'on the same date', cf. I 101 60. The traces would suit the tops of the arms of chi.

3596.

38 3B.85/A(3-5)c

14.2 x 26.6 cm

Between 219 and 255

This item has been referred to as C in *JRS* 71 (1981) 87-97. Damage to the lower half has obscured some of the details of the payment, but it is of particular interest for the terms applied to different types of pitch used for lining the jars, see 19 n.

Ἀὐρηλία Ἀπία θυγατρὶ Σεπτίμι[ο]υ Σερήνου ἐξηγητεύσαντος  
 πρυτανεύσαντος τῆς Ὀξυρυχει[τῶν] πόλεως  
 παρὰ Κλαυδιανοῦ κεραμέ[ως οἶν]ικοῦ κεράμου ἰδίου  
 Εὐδαίμονος γυμνασιάρχου [βου]λε[υ]τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 5 ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα ἔτι ἀπὸ  
 α' Θῶθ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) τὸ κατὰ εὐ τέταρτον μέρος τοῦ ὄντος  
 πρὸς χωρίῳ Μητρικῶ καλου[μέ]νῳ περὶ Σέννιν κεραμείου  
 οἰνικοῦ κεράμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καμίνου καὶ καμαρῶν  
 καὶ τῶν τούτου χρηστηρίων πάντων, ἐπὶ τῷ με πλάσαι σοι  
 10 καὶ ὀπτῆσαι καὶ πιτσῶσαι ἀ[π]ὸ χειμερινῆς πλάσεως  
 κοῦφα Ὀξυρυχειτικὰ [τετρά]χοα κ[α]λούμενα ἀριθμῶ  
 τ[ετ]ρακιςχίλια, διπ[λο]κέραμα ἑκατὸν, δίχροα δεκαπέντε,  
 ζῶν παρεχούσης [μ]οι ἐπ[ὶ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ κεραμείου παραθέσεω(ν)  
 τὸν ἐγχεύζοντα χοῦ[ν] μελάγγε[ι]ον, χαυνόγειον, ἀμμογειο(ν)  
 15 καὶ εἰς τὴν δεξαμενὴν ὕ[δα]τα κ[α]ὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀπτῆσαι καὶ κα-  
 πνισμὸν τῶν κούφων [τὰ ἐγχ]εύζοντα καύματα καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν πιτσῶσαι τῶ[ν] αὐτῶ[ν] κούφων καὶ διπλοκεράμω(ν)  
 καὶ διχῶν πιτση[σ] ὀ[λ]κῆς μέ[τρ]ω Ἀλίνης στερεὰ τάλαντα  
 δώδεκα ὡν Τρωαδηςίας τὸ ἥ[μι]σι Κυρητικῆς τὸ ἥμισυ,  
 20 μισθῶ τῆς τε πλάσεως καὶ ὀπτῆσεως καὶ πιτσῶσεως <ὡς>  
 τῶ[ν] κούφων ἑκατ[ὸ]ν δραχμ[ῶν] τριάκον[τα] ἕξ. τὰς δὲ συναγο-  
 μένας τῶν μισθῶ[ν] δραχμὰς χιλί[ας] τετρακοσίας τεσσαράκον-  
 τα ἀπολήμ[ψ]ο[μα]ι c. 12 letters ] ἑκατὸν . [ . ] . . . . .  
 c. 35 letters ] . . [ 6-8 letters  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 25 c. 30 letters ] . [ . ] . . . εἰς τὴν [

2 l. Ὀξυρυχειτῶν 3 ἰδίου 6 γς 8 l. καμίνου 9 σοι: c corr. from κ 11 l.  
 Ὀξυρυχειτικά 12 l. τετρακιςχίλια 13 παραθεσῶ 14 αμμογειῶ 15 ὕ[δα]τα; only left  
 half of diaeresis visible 17 διπλοκεραμῶ 19 l. Κυρητικῆς

6-8 ] τω[ν] . [ . ] . [ . . . . . δρα]χ[μ]ὰς . . ] ακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα,  
 λήμψ[ο]μαι δὲ ἐκτάκτων ὄξους κε[ρ]άμιον ἐν, φακῆς ἀρ-  
 ταβ- 5-6] . . βεβαιουμένης δέ μοι τῆς ἐπιδοχῆς ποιῆς[ομα]ι  
 τὴν πλάσιν κα[ὶ] ὀπτῆσαι καὶ πιτσῶσαι τῶν προκειμένων κούφων  
 30 καὶ διπλοκεράμων καὶ διχῶν καὶ παραδώσω ταῦτα τῷ Ἐπειφ  
 μ]ηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ κεραμείου ψυγμῶν ἀπὸ χει-  
 μερινῆς πλάσεως καλῶς ὀπτημένα καὶ πεπιτσοποιημένα  
 ἀπὸ χείλους ἄχρι πυθμένος ἀρεστὰ μὴ πειδῶντα χωρὶς θερα-  
 πεισίμων καὶ ἐπισινῶν. ὁμολογῶ δὲ ὀφείλειν ἀπὸ πλάσεως τοῦ διελθ[όντος]  
 35 β (ἔτους) κοῦφα διακόσια πενήκοντα, διπλοκέραμα πενήκοντα  
 c. 8 ] . εἰ . . ζῶν πιτσησ Κυρητικῆς ψειλὸν τάλαντον ἐν καὶ τ . .  
 c. 12 ] . . . . . [ . ] . ἐνεστῶτ . . . . . κορυφ[ . . . . . ] . [ . ] . [ . ] . ω  
 c. 15 ] . . [ c. 10 ] . [ c. 20 ] . κ . .  
 . . . . . c. 45 ] . απ . . εἰ  
 40 c. 45 ] . . [

Back, top left, across the fibres: (m. 2) Φαῶφι (δραχμαὶ) ρ

33 l. πιδῶντα 34 διελθ 36 l. ψιλόν 41 ρ

'To Aurelia Apia, daughter of Septimius Serenus, formerly exegetes and prytanis of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Claudianus a potter who makes wine jars, dependant of Eudaemon, gymnasiarch (and) councillor of the same city. Of my own free will I undertake to take on lease for one year as from Thoth 1 of the current 3rd year your fourth share of the pottery for the making of wine jars which is on the estate called Mother's (?) near Sennis and also of the kiln in it, the storehouses, and all its appurtenances, on condition that I make for you, fire, and coat with pitch from winter manufacture what are called Oxyrhynchite four-chous jars to the number of four thousand, one hundred double ceramia, (and) fifteen two-chous jars, while you provide for me in the said pottery on deposit the necessary black earth, friable earth, and sandy earth and water for the cistern and the necessary firing material for the firing and smoking of the jars and, for coating the same jars and double ceramia and two-chous jars with pitch, twelve standard talents in weight by the measure of Aline of pitch, of which half (is to be) Troadensian (?) pitch and half from Siris, at a wage for the making, firing, and coating with pitch, of thirty-six drachmas per hundred jars. The total payment of one thousand four hundred and forty drachmas I shall receive . . . one hundred . . . hundred and forty drachmas; and I shall receive as special payments one ceramion of sour wine and . . . artaba(s?) of lentils. If my undertaking is confirmed, I shall carry out the making, firing, and pitching of the aforesaid jars, double ceramia and two-chous jars and I shall hand these over in the month of Epeiph of the current year on the drying-floors of the pottery from winter manufacture well fired and coated with pitch from rim to foot, satisfactory and not leaking and without any that have been repaired or blemished. I acknowledge that I owe from the manufacture of the past 2nd year two hundred and fifty jars and fifty double ceramia . . . one bare talent of pitch from Siris and . . . the current . . . jars . . .'

Back. (2nd hand) 'Phaophi, 100 dr.'



1 We can now see that XXXVIII 2854 36, printed as . . . *απια* 'ἀδελφή' (?), refers to this Aurelia Apia. The line is an endorsement on a document emanating from her brother Septimius Eudaemon, cf. 4 and 3597 1, also child of Aurelius (cf. XLVII 3365 4, 9, 86) Septimius Serenus. For the family see *JRS* 71 (1981) 92. In spite of the fact that in 2854 36 ἀδελφή is about 5 cm to the right of . . . *απια* and about 1 cm higher, it seems likely that the whole should be construed as an address in the dative, . . . *Ἀπία* 'ἀδελφή'. The damaged traces at the beginning do not favour *Ἀγρ(ηλία)* or *Ἀπό(δοκ)*, which are obvious possibilities. In 2854 Eudaemon offers to resign all his property to avoid a cumulation of liturgies and it is possible that even then, on 12 November 248, he held some of it in common with his sister, cf. 3597 4.

3 ἰδίου. Cf. 3597 15 n.

5-6 *ἔτι ἀπό*, 'as from', cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* ii 889-91, indicates that the document, like 3595 and 3597, was actually dated after the beginning of the term of the lease. Land leases also were customarily drawn up after the beginning of the term, see 3589 4 n. Usually, however, *ἔτι* is not added at this point. The endorsement *Φαῶφι* (*δραχμαί*) ρ (41), may suggest that no payment was due till the second month of the year. Lines 34-5 show that a similar contract had existed in the previous year, cf. 3597 40-4 n.

6 γ (*ἔτος*). Since Claudianus is known from 3597 to be operating in 260/1, this lease must fall somewhere in the middle of the third century. Since *τῆς Ὀξυρυγγει[τῶν] πόλεως* (2) lacks an honorific epithet, which had been introduced at least by February 269, see *ZPE* 12 (1973) 277-92, and Apia does have the *nomen* Aurelia, as a result of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, the possible third years are 219/20, 223/4, 236/7, 239/40, 245/6, 252/3, and 255/6. The later years of this range are more likely than the earlier.

7 *καλον[μέ]νω*: read by H. G. T. Maehler. Possibly the name *Μητρικῶ* alludes to property inherited from the mother's side or to property allotted to the mother of the family at some stage in the past.

11-12 On the types and sizes of jars see *JRS* 71 (1981) 95-6.

14 On the types of earth see *JRS* 71 (1981) 92-3.

15-16 *καπνισμόν*. *Add. lexx.* Cf. *JRS* 71 (1981) 94, 3597 20.

18 On the *μέτρον Ἀλίνης* see *JRS* 71 (1981) 89 (16 n.).

19 On these types of pitch see *JRS* 71 (1981) 94-5, where it is established that they also occur in XXXI 2570 23-5. It is perhaps worth adding that the Lucanian Siris had some connection with Troy, see Strabo vi 14 (264) *ποταμοὶ δύο πλωτοὶ Ἀκίρις καὶ Σίρις, ἐφ' οὗ πόλις ἦν ὀμώνυμος Τρωϊκῆ κτλ.* It is possible, therefore, that *Τρωαδικία* and *Σιριτική* were two qualities of pitch from this area. The best wood pitch for lining jars came from neighbouring Bruttium, see Pliny, *NH* 14. 25, and the only analysis of the black lining on Gracco-Roman jars revealed that in that case it was a wood product, see *JRS* 71 (1981) 94. There is, therefore, as yet no evidence that mineral pitch was ever used in jars. In Egypt, notoriously poor in wood, this substance would be valuable, which is consistent with the indications of careful supervision of its use (P. Cair. Zen. III 59481; 3597 23) and careful accounting (3588).

21 *τριάκοντα* ξξ. The rate is 32 drachmas in both 3595, which is earlier, and 3597, which is later.

23 ἀπολήμ[ψ]ο[μα]ι. Cf. 3595 23, 3597 17. In the second half of the line ] *ἐκατόν* presumably refers to an instalment or instalments of 100 dr., cf. 41, which is an endorsement, *Φαῶφι* (*δραχμαί*) ρ. In the other documents there is a longer passage, different in each case, between ἀπολήμφομαι and any amount. At the end of the line the chief difficulty is the rapidity of the writing. A good suggestion for the text could probably be verified from the remains.

24-5 It is not clear whether the isolated traces in 24 were part of the same line as 25. The fact that the other two documents have clauses providing for an extra supply of jars if they should be needed (3595 27-31, 3597 25-7) suggests not. On the other side, it seems attractive to restore *εἰς τὴν [ὑπόκαυσιν] τῶν . . . δρα]χ[μάς . . .] ἀκοσίας τεσσαράκοντα* and to suppose that a clause comparable with 3595 22-7 and 3597 16-20 is here shared between the fragments. If this suggestion were correct we ought to be able to read the name of a month, *Παῦνι*, *Ἐπειφ*, or *Μεσορή*, before *εἰς*. The remains do not favour these, but suggest rather ] *αἱ*, though even that is far from certain.

26 A very characteristic oblique stroke descending to the left makes *δρα]χ[μάς* virtually certain, after which the space favours the shorter possibilities, *δι]ακοσίας*, *τρι]ακοσίας*, or *ἐξ]ακοσίας*. If the payment were for *ὑπόκαυσις*, see 24-5 n., the parallels would favour *ἐξ]ακοσίας*, cf. 3595 25, 3597 20, both *πεντακοσίας*, though the second of these is a single payment, while the first stipulates 500 dr. for each of two months.

27-8 In 3597 27 the extras are two jars of sour wine and one artaba of lentils. Here there is only one jar of sour wine. The trace could suit *ἀρ[τάβης ἡμις]ν* or *ἀρ[τάβην μία]ν*, but not *δύο* or *τρία*. Higher numbers do not seem very likely.

28 *ποιήσ[ομα]ι*. Cf. 3595 46; contrast 3597 28 (*ποιήσω*).

34-5 Sec 5-6 for the year number. Cf. 3597 40-3 for similar arrears.

35-6 The restricted space at the beginning of 36 perhaps suggests that the first clause finished at the end of 35, though the annotation of arrears in 3597 40-3 also includes *δίχρα*. In 36 the fourth letter is best taken as lambda, which suggests something like *ἐμοὶ δὲ δ]φείλεσθαι*. The meaning should be similar in both documents.

36 *ψείδων* (= *ψιλόν*) *τάλαντον ἑν*. Cf. W. Chr. 321 introd. In that case the contrast is with the *μεταλλικόν τάλαντον*, which is two and a half times as big. Here in 18 we have *στερεὰ τάλαντα*, cf. LSJ s.v. *στερεός* I b, but the relation between the *στερεόν τάλαντον* and the *ψιλόν τάλαντον* is not known, still less any modern equivalent for either.

37 Read perhaps [το]ῦ ἐνεστώτο(ς) γ (*ἔτους*); *ενεστωτ? γξ* pap.?

## 3597.

37 3B.87/G(3)a

13.4 × 32 cm

22 September 260

This lease has been referred to as B in *JRS* 71 (1981) 87-97. The back is blank.

Σεπτιμίω Εὐδαίμονι γυμνασιάρχῳ βουλ(ευτῆ) τῆς Ὀξυρυγγι(τῶν) πόλε(ως)  
 παρὰ Κλαυδιανοῦ ἰδίου κεραμείως. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέ-  
 χομαι μισθώσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστώ(ς) α (ἔτος) τὸ κατὰ ζεῖ τρίτον  
 μέρος οὐ ἔχει κορινθίου πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου πρὸς ᾧ  
 5 ἔχεται {προς} χωρίῳ ὑμῶν περὶ Σέννιν κεραμίου οἰνικοῦ  
 κεράμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καμείνων καὶ καμαρῶν καὶ χρη-  
 στηρίων πάντων, ἐπὶ τῷ μαι πλάσε σοι ἀπὸ χειμερινῆς  
 πλάσεως κούφα Ὀξυρυγγιτικὰ τετράχρα καλούμενα  
 ἀριθμῷ ὀκτακιςχίλια, διπλοκέραμα ἑκατόν, δίχρα τριά-  
 10 κοντα, τῶν ζῶν παρεχόντων μοι ἐν τῷ κεραμίῳ χούν  
 μελάνγιον, ἀμμόγιον, χαυνόγιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνχρηζόντα  
 πάντα, λαμβάνοντός μου ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ τῆς μὲν πλάσεως  
 καὶ ὀπτήσεως καὶ πιεζώσεως ὡς τῶν κούφων ἑκατόν δραχμῶ(ν)  
 15 τριάκοντα δύο, γεῖ(νονται) ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δραχμαὶ διςχίλια πεντακόσι-  
 αι ἐξήκοντα, ἀφ' ὧν ὑπολογούνται ὑπὲρ μὲν ἀποφορῶν μου  
 τοῦ Κλαυδιανοῦ δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόσιαι. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς δραχμὰς χει-  
 λίας ὀκτακοσίας ἐξήκοντα ἀπολήμφομαι παρὰ σοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος  
 μηνὸς Θῶφ ἕως Τῦβι καὶ αὐτοῦ Τῦβι κατὰ μῆνα δραχμὰς διακοσί-  
 20 τὰς λοιπὰς δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας <ἐξήκοντα>. πρὸς δὲ καπνισμόν τῶν

1 βοθ, οξυρυγγιθ 2 ἰδίου 3 αξ 5 I. ἔχετε, κεραμίου 6 καμείνων: εἰ corr.,  
 possibly from αρ; I. καμείνων 7 I. με πλάσαι 9 I. ὀκτακιςχίλια 10 I. κεραμείω 11 I.  
 μελάνγιον, ἀμμόγιον, χαυνόγιον, ἐνχρηζόντα 12 ὑπερ 13 δραχμῶ; I. δραχμὰς 14 γεῖ.(?);  
 I. γίνονται, διςχίλια 15 ὑπερ 16-17 I. χιλίας 19 υποκαυτῆ

κούφων καὶ ὑπόκαυσι παρέξεις μοι ἐν τῷ κεραμίῳ τὰ ἐνχρή-  
 ζοντα καύματα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πίσσωσι τούτων τὴν ἐνχρή-  
 ζουσαν πίσσαν, σοῦ ἐπακολουθούντος τῇ πίσσῳ. παρέξεις  
 25 δέ μοι ἀδιαλείπτως εἰς τὴν δεξαμενὴν τὰ ἐνχρήζοντα ὕδα-  
 τα. δι. . . . . δέ σοι χωρὶς τῶν προκειμένων κούφων ὀπτημένα  
 καὶ πεπισσωμένα ἀριθμ[ῶ] ἑκατόν, λαμβάνοντός μοι ὑπὲρ  
 ἐκτάκτων ὄξους κεράμια δύο, φακῆς ἀρτάβην μίαν. βε-  
 30 βαιουμένης δέ μοι τῆς ἐπιδοχῆς ποιήσω τὴν τῶν κούφων  
 πλάσι κ[αί] ὀπτησι καὶ πίσσωσι παρέχων ἑμαυτῷ πλά-  
 στας καὶ [. . . .] εἰαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἀποδώσω τὰ κούφα τῷ Ἐπειφ  
 35 μηνὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ κεραμίου ψυγμῶν ἀπὸ χειμερινῆς πλά-  
 σεως καλῶς ὀπτημένα καὶ πεπισσωμένα ἀπὸ χείλους ἄχρι πυ-  
 θμῆρος εὐάριστα μὴ πιρώντα χωρὶς θεραπευσίμων καὶ  
 ἐπισινῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου παραδώσω τὸ κεραμῖον  
 40 κατὰ τὸ μισθούμενον μοι μέρος <καθαρόν> ἀπὸ σποδοῦ καὶ ὀστράκων,  
 τῆς πράξεώς σοι οὔσης ὡς καθήκει. κυρία ἡ ἐπιδοχὴ καὶ  
 ἐπερωτηθεὶς ἀμολόγησα. (ἔτους) α' Ἄυτοκράτορων Καϊσάρω(ν)  
 Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου Μακριανῶ καὶ Τίτου Φουλβίου Ἰουνίου  
 Κουϊήτου Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν Θῶθ κῆ.  
 40 (m. 2) Σεπτίμ(ιος) Εὐδαίμων σεσημ(είωμαι)  
 λοι(π ) ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπ(ὸ) λόγου ζ (ἔτους)  
 κούφ(α) ρν, διπλοκέραμ(α) κᾶ, δίχοα γ',  
 πίσσης (τάλαντον) α.

21 l. κεραμίου 21-2 l. ἐνχρήζοντα 22-3 l. ἐνχρήζουσαν 23 l. πίσσῳ 24 l.  
 ἐνχρήζοντα 24-5 ὕδατα 25 l. κούφα (?) ὀπτημένα 26 l. μου; ὑπὲρ 31 l. κεραμίου  
 33 l. εὐάριστα, πιδῶντα 34 l. κεραμίου 37 l. α'', καισαρῶ 38 ἰουνίου (twice)  
 39 κουϊήτου 40 σεπτίμ, σεσημ 41 λοι, απ', ζς 42 κούφ, διπλοκεραμ 43 (τάλαντον):  
 symbol resembles ζ with a long, nearly vertical, tail

'To Septimius Eudaemon, gymnasiarch, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from his dependant Claudianus, a potter. Of my own free will I undertake to take on lease for the present first year your third share of the pottery for the making of wine jars which you own jointly with your siblings on your estate near Sennis and also of the kilns in it, and storehouses and all appurtenances, on condition that I make for you from the winter manufacture what are called Oxyrhynchite four-chous jars to the number of eight thousand, one hundred double ceramia, and thirty two-chous jars, while your people provide for me at the pottery black earth, sandy earth, and friable earth and everything else necessary and I receive for the price of the making, firing, and coating with pitch thirty-two drachmas per hundred jars, total two thousand five hundred and sixty drachmas, from which are deducted the dues of myself, Claudianus, seven hundred drachmas. The remaining one thousand eight hundred and sixty drachmas I shall receive from you from the current month Thoth until and including Tybi two hundred drachmas a month, in Mecheir three hundred drachmas, in Epeiph and Mesore for stoking the remaining five hundred drachmas. For the smoking of the jars and for the stoking you

will provide for me at the pottery the necessary firing material and for coating these with pitch the necessary pitch, while you supervise the process of coating them with pitch. And you will provide for me without intermission the necessary water for the cistern. I shall make (?) for you, besides the aforesaid, jars fired and coated with pitch to the number of one hundred and shall receive as special payments two ceramia of sour wine and one artaba of lentils. If my undertaking is confirmed I shall carry out the manufacture, firing and coating with pitch, providing for myself potters and all assistance (?) and I shall hand over in the month of Epeiph on the drying-floors of the pottery the jars from winter manufacture well fired and coated with pitch from the rim to the foot, satisfactory and not leaking and without any that have been repaired or blemished and at the end of the period I shall hand over the pottery free from ash and sherds, the right of execution belonging to you in due form. The undertaking is irrefutable and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. The first year of Imperatores Caesares Titus Fulvius Iunius Macrianus and Titus Fulvius Iunius Quietus Pii Felices Augusti, Thoth 25.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Septimius Eudaemon, have certified remaining booked to him from the account of the 7th year 150 jars, 21 double ceramia, 3 two-chous jars, 1 talent of pitch.'

1-2 For the lessor and his family and his potter see *JRS* 71 (1981) 92 and 3596 1 n.  
 2 ἰδίου. See 15 n.

5 For the village see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 167. It seems very likely that this is the same pottery as that in 3596, see *JRS* 71 (1981) 92. Since the pottery in 3596 7 is described as being πρὸς χωρίῳ Μητρικῶ καλου[μ]ένῳ περὶ Σένου, and the wording seems garbled here, it is worth stating that attempts to read πρὸς ᾧ ἔχετε (vel sim.) μητρὸς χωρίῳ have not been successful.

10 The figure for two-chous jars was given wrongly in the table in *JRS* 71 (1981) 91 as 35 instead of 30.

15 The word ἀποφοραὶ was applied particularly to the proportion of a slave's earnings which was payable to his master, see I. Biezuńska-Malowitz, *L'Esclavage* ii 106-8, *eadem*, *JJP* 15 (1965) 65-72; add P. Oxy. Hels. 26. 13. This interpretation of the deduction for ἀποφοραὶ agrees well with the description of the potter in 3596 3 and 3597 2 as the ἴδιος of Septimius Eudaemon, and with the absence of the *nomen* Aurelius, patronymic etc., and origin. Contrast 3595 2-3, *Ἀργηλίου Παύσιος κτλ.* It throws more light on this use of the word ἴδιος, for which see H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des gr. Briefes* 104. We may compare particularly Epagathus the slave of L. Bellenus Gemellus. Gemellus frequently addressed his letters Ἐπαγάθῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ (P. Fay. 110. 2, 111. 2, 32, 112. 2, 116. 2, 120. 2; cf. 121. 2, 122. 2, written by Gemellus' son Sabinus τῷ Γεμείνῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ and to Ἐπαγάθῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ). The editors of P. Fay. took Epagathus for a member of Gemellus' family, perhaps a nephew, see P. Fay. 110 introd., and it only later emerged, from a fuller publication of P. Fay. 260 (descr.) in SPP IV pp. 116-18, that he was a slave. Line 5 there has Γέμελλος διὰ Ἐπ[α]γά[θ]ου π[α]τρι[α]ρί[ου], cf. *Et. Pap.* 8 (1957) 73.

It seems likely that a thorough survey of this use of ἴδιος would reveal something more about slavery in Egypt, though it would be difficult to draw the proper distinctions between this and other uses. It looks as if the persons described only as ἴδιοι in XVII 2144 11, 13, 18, 20, 24 may have been slaves belonging to the γεούχοι mentioned in 2, 6, 16, and 27. Cf. XLIX 3505 1 and n.

16-20 Even though abrasion and disturbance of the fibres at the beginnings of the lines make some readings doubtful in detail, it seems clear that the total of instalments cannot match the figure specified in 17. Most of the figures are confirmed in various ways. First, 8,000 jars (9) at 32 dr. per 100 (13-14) should indeed cost 2,560 dr. (14-15), and if ἐξήκοντα is seriously damaged in 15, it is clearer in 17, where the remains of the xi are particularly characteristic. The deduction of 700 dr. (16) from 2,560 does indeed leave 1,860 (16-17). But 1,000 (i.e. five instalments of 200), plus 300, plus 500, total 1,800 and there is no room anywhere for the missing 60. Probably ἐξήκοντα has been omitted in 20, see 3596 26, where the odd 40 dr. of the total of 1,440 dr. is paid back in the last instalment. Note also that there is a word omitted below in 35.

20 καπνισμόν. *Add. lexx.* Cf. 3596 15-16 n.

23 For the supervision of the use of pitch see 3596 19 n.

25 We expect πλάσω, cf. 3595 28, or a synonym. The traces, which are on disturbed fibres, would perhaps allow διαπλάσω, though that may be a little too long. This verb appears in the papyrological dictionaries (*WB I*) with a single reference to P. Mon. I 6. 47 (vi AD), where it is used metaphorically about the invention of a false story in a lawsuit.

κούφων ὀπτημένα (= ὀπτημένα). It would be easier to understand κούφω with προκειμένων and have κούφα expressed with ὀπτημένα κτλ., but the remains, though damaged, indicate that κούφω was written.

30 Restore perhaps [ὑπουργ]είαν (= ὑπουργίαν); cf. 3595 17-19 ἐμοῦ δὲ παρέχοντος ἐμαντῶ τοὺς αὐτάρκει πλάστας καὶ ὑπουργοὺς καὶ ὑποκαύστας.

33 πρῶντα = πιδῶντα. For occasional confusion of δ and ρ see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 110. Add XL 2895 i 6 χλαμυροφορεῖν = χλαμυδοφορεῖν.

35 <καθαρόν>. Cf. 3595 39.

40 Septimius Eudaemon's own hand, though large and unrefined, is not that of a βραδέως γράφων.

40-4 Cf. 3596 34-5, where Claudianus acknowledges that he owes from the previous year 250 κούφα, 50 διπλοκέραμα, and possibly a number of δέχσα, see n. He then makes some other acknowledgement, doubtful because of the damage to the papyrus, involving 1 bare talent (ψιλὸν τάλαντον ἔν) of pitch. Probably the situations are much the same in both cases.

It is doubtful whether we should punctuate strongly after *εσσημ(είωμαι)* and expand the next word to *λοι(πάζεται) vel sim.*, or take it all as one sentence and expand to *λοι(πά) or λοι(παζόμενα)*, which is perhaps the better solution and is used for the translation. The meaning will be much the same in either case.

The pots and the pitch are not quite on the same footing. The meaning of *λοι(π) ἐν αὐτῷ* is, '(there are?) remaining booked to him . . .' The pots clearly have not been supplied by the lessee to the lessor, but the pitch, on the contrary, has been supplied by the lessor to the lessee (cf. 20-3) and has not been accounted for. What this means in the case of the pitch is not clear. We need to bear in mind that, although no rate is specified in this document, in the others the pitch is supplied at the rate of 2.6 talents per 1,000 jars (3595 17) or 3 talents per 1,000 jars (3596 18-19, cf. 3588), so that one talent should be enough for about 330 to 385 jars, if we neglect the question of the ψιλόν and the *στερεὸν τάλαντον*, which appears only in 3596. The likeliest possibility is perhaps that the potter, though he had supplied only 150 κούφα too few, had been sparing with his allowance of pitch and had enough of it left to line 330 to 385 jars. Another possibility is that he had run through his allowance and also used one talent extra even in the process of lining fewer jars than had been specified.

41 ζ (ἔτους). This is a year of the reign of Valerian and Gallienus, i.e. the previous Julian year, 259/60. The usurpers Macrianus and Quietus came to power early in the Egyptian year 260/1, see XLIX 3476 of Thoth 20 = 17 September 260, i.e. the twentieth day of the year. Cf. *ZPE* 46 (1982) 210.

## 3598. PRIVATE ACCOUNT

17 2B.56/F(c)

11.4 × 10.6 cm

Early fourth century

An account of grain payments made to various tradespeople, including a *πλυσιμαρίος*, see 3599 7 n. The text is in a hand similar to CPR VI 39-40, Tafel 17 (AD 325?), but the lettering is more generously spaced here. The back is blank.

λόγ(ος) κύτου ἀνερχθέντος διὰ  
 πάκτωνος ἀπὸ Βερκύ (vac.) (ἀρτάβαι) [  
 (ὦν) ἀνάλωται (vac.) [  
 Γερμανῶ ἰδίῳ ὑ(πέρ) ὀψωνίων (ἀρτάβαι) [  
 5 Θεοδώρῳ ὑ(πέρ) ὀψωνίων [  
 Ζωσίμῳ ἰδίῳ ὑ(πέρ) ὀψωνίων (ἀρτάβαι) [  
 6 ἴδιω

1 λογ<sup>7</sup>

3 L = (ὦν); 1. ἀνήλωται or ἀνήλωνται

4 ἴδιω

4-8 υ<sup>1</sup> = ὑ(πέρ)

6 ἴδιω

Ἀτρή πλυσιμαρίῳ ὑ(πέρ) συντάξεω[ς  
 Τεχῶσει γναφ[ί]σα ὑ(πέρ) συντάξε[ω]ς  
 Ἰσιδώρῳ κατα. . μίῳ Ἀκτῆς [  
 . . . . .

9 ἴσιδωρω

'Account of grain transported up from Berky by lighter. *N* artabas, of which there have been paid out:

To Germanus, dependant, for wages, *N* artabas.

To Theodorus, for wages, . . .

To Zosimus, dependant, for wages, *N* artabas.

To Hatres, laundryman, for salary, . . .

To Techosis, fulling woman, for salary, . . .

To Isidorus, . . . of Akte . . .'

1 ἀνερχθέντος. As Berky is upriver from Oxyrhynchus, ἀνα- here denotes movement from village to metropolis, cf. *W. Chr.* 495 introd., H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 493 n. 36.

2 Βερκύ. On the border of the Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, on the West bank of the Nile, Berky belonged to the former from the middle of the fourth century AD onwards, but may have been part of the Oxyrhynchite nome earlier, cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome hermapolite* (1979) 80-1.

πάκτωνος. See XXXI 2568 14 n., and L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (1971) 324.

3 For the omission of the temporal augment see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, 118 (§255), and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 233, 250-1.

4 and 6 ἴδιω. The word indicates that these persons were slaves, see 3597 15 n., and that the accounts are those of a wealthy individual.

7 πλυσιμαρίῳ. See 3599 7 n.

8 γναφ[ί]σα. Women fullers occur in a number of documents from the late second century AD (P. Mich. IV 223, 224, and 225; P. Cairo Goodspeed 30 xxix 24) onwards. On fulling see W. O. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii*, 18-28, R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*<sup>2</sup> iv 87-98, and E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile*, 129-145.

9 κατα. . μίῳ. The doubtful tau might be iota. The next trace looks like the top of the loop of alpha, followed by the tip of an upright, and a vertical on the right edge of a break. An occupation seems more likely than καί followed by a name, but all I can suggest is *καταμημίω* miswritten for *καταμηρίω*, 'worker hired by the month', cf. XVII 2155 8, XLII 3048 20. For the interchange of mu for nu, which is not however common, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 119 n. 3, and Mayser, *Grammatik* i 1<sup>2</sup>, 165-6, §5.

Ἀκτῆς. Although a common name (see Pape-Benseler, s.v.) Ἀκτῆ does not seem to have occurred before in the papyri. This raises the possibility that ἀκτῆ, 'river-, canal-shore' should be recognized (cf. P. Hibeh II 198. 115). If Isidorus's job was connected with the washing and fulling mentioned in ll. 7-8, this may have been where he carried out his part of the process. [Now, however, ἀπὸ Ἀκτῆς, occurring in a fragmentary Oxyrhynchite order to arrest of the fourth or fifth century, suggests that there was a place of this name, see P. Köln IV 189. 2.]

## 3599. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF LOAN

64 6B.60/F(1)a

19 × 31 cm

9 December 460

Aurelius Timagenes and Aurelius Muses of Oxyrhynchus acknowledge an interest-free loan of one solidus of gold from Flavius Dorotheus of Upper Cynopolis. The loan is in the form of a subjective homology: for bibliography and parallels see O. Montevicchi, *La papirologia* 226 and 228-9, and CPR VII 40.

3599 provides the first papyrological example of the consular date of Flavius Apollonius (although a Latin form of the post-consulate of 461 has occurred in XVI 1876), and may be added to R. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *CSBE* Appendix D, 118.

Another point of interest, see 7 n., is a new occupation name, *πλυσιμάριος*, 'laundryman', which also occurs in 3598 7.

ϛ[πατει]α Φλαουίου Ἀπ[ολλωνίου τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου)?]. [. . . . .]. [. . . . .]  
(vac.) Χοίακ ιγ. (vac.)

Φλαουίω Δωροθέω τῷ αἰδεδίμῳ πολιτευομένῳ τῆς  
Ἄνω Κυνωπολιτῶν πόλεως νῆϛ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης  
5 μνήμης Ἰωσήφ Αὐρήλιοι Τιμαγένης Φιλοξένου  
μητρὸς Ἀνθούσης καὶ Μουσῆς Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς  
Θέκλας πλυσιμάριος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης  
᾽Οξυρυγιτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης  
ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐν χρήσει διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου εἰς ἰδίαν  
10 ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναγκαίαν χρεῖαν χρυσοῦ ἀπλοῦν δόκιμον  
εὐσταθμον νομισμάτιον ἔν, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α κεφαλαίου,  
ὅπερ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτιον ἐν ἀκίνδυνον ὄν ἀπὸ  
παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσομεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης  
τῆ λύσει τῶν ἁγίων Πάσχων το[ῦ] Φαρμουθι μηνὸς τοῦ  
15 ἐνεστῶτος [ἔ]τρως ρλζ ρς τῆς παρ[ο]ύσης τεσσαρεσκαι-  
δεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀνυπ[ερ]θῆτως καὶ χωρὶς τινος  
ἀντιλογίας, χιγνομένης σοι τ[ῆ]ς πράξεως παρὰ τε  
ἡμῶν ἀλληλ[ε]γγύων ὄντων [εἰς] ἔκτισιν καὶ παρ' οὐ  
ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἰρή καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν  
20 πάντων. κύριον τὸ γραμματίον ἀπλοῦν γραφὲν  
καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολογήσαμεν. (m. 2) Αὐρήλιοι  
Τιμαγένης Φ[ι]λοξένου μητρὸς Ἀνθούσης καὶ Μουσῆς  
Φοιβάμμωνος μητρὸς Θέκλας πλυσιμάριος  
οἱ προκείμενοι ἔσχαμεν ἐν χρήσει τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ  
25 νομισμάτι[ον] ἐν κεφαλαίου κ[αί] ἀποδώσομεν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης  
τῆ προθεσμία ὡς πρόκ[ε]ιται. Αὐρήλιος Φιλόξενος Ἰωάννου  
ἄξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ[τῶν πα]ρόντων γράμματα μὴ εἰδόντων.  
(vac.) (m. 3) d-επι . . . . .

1 φλαουίου	3 φλαουίω	4 1. Κυνωπολιτῶν; νῆϛ	5 ἰωσηφ	8 ἀλληλεγγύης
14 1. λύσει	16 ἀνυπερθεως	18 ἀλληλεγγύων	19 ὑπαρχοντων	25 ἀλληλεγγύης
26 ἰωαννου				

Back, downwards:

ϛ Τιμαγένου Φιλοξένου βαφέως καὶ Μουσῆ[ς] Φοιβάμμωνος  
30 (vac.) . . [. . .] . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ᾽Οξ. . . . . χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α.

<sup>1</sup>In the consulate of Flavius Apollonius, (*vir clarissimus*, and the consul who is to be announced?), Choiaç 13.

<sup>2</sup>To Flavius Dorotheus the worshipful *curialis* of the city of the Upper Cynopolites, son of Joseph of excellent memory, Aurelius Timagenes son of Philoxenus, his mother being Anthusa, and Aurelius Muses son of Phoebammon, his mother being Thecla, laundryman, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. We acknowledge that we have received from you on mutual security, by hand from your house, on loan for our personal and pressing need one unalloyed, approved solidus of gold, of full weight, total 1 solidus of gold, principal, which one solidus of gold being free from all risk we shall be bound to pay back on mutual security at the end of the holy week of Easter of the month of Pharmuthi of the present 137th = 106th year of the current fourteenth indiction, without delay and without any dispute, you having the right of execution against us jointly as mutual guarantors for repayment and against whichever one of us you may choose and against all our property. The contract has been written in a single copy and is valid, and having been formally questioned we have assented.' (2nd hand) 'We the aforementioned, Aurelius Timagenes son of Philoxenus, his mother being Anthusa, and Aurelius Muses son of Phoebammon, his mother being Thecla, laundryman, have received on loan the one solidus of gold, principal, and we shall pay it back on mutual security on the appointed day as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Philoxenus son of Johannes, at their request wrote on their behalf in their presence as they are illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'Written by me, . . .'

<sup>3</sup>Back '(Loan) of Timagenes son of Philoxenus, dyer, and Muses son of Phoebammon, laundryman, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites; 1 solidus of gold.'

<sup>1</sup>At the end of the line there are only minute traces of letters. As the consular colleague of Apollonius, Magnus, was not recognized in the East (A. Degraffi, *Fasti Consolari*, s.v.) the line is likely to have contained either an abbreviated form of the formula found in XVI 1878 1 p.c. *Apollonii v.c. et qui nuntiatus fuerit*, viz. τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) καὶ τοῦ δηλωθ(ησομένου) or simply τοῦ λαμπροτάτου. Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE* 118, and *Addenda and Corrigenda to CSBE* (1981), list no papyri from 460.

<sup>3</sup>πολιτευομένῳ. See H. Geremek, *Anagennesis* 1 (1981) 231-47.

<sup>4</sup>Ἄνω Κυνωπολιτῶν πόλεως. The earliest occurrence by a few years of the city name with ἄνω. A. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* s.v. *Κυνῶν πόλις*, notes VI 902 = M. Chr. 72 (AD 464, see Bagnall and Worp, *CSBE* 52 n. 4) as the earliest, but this is probably due to lack of evidence, since ἄνω occurs with the name of the nome as early as AD 209, see XLVII 3345 50. The note there explains that there was another Cynopolis, Lower Cynopolis, in the Delta.

<sup>7</sup>πλυσιμάριος. *Add. lexx.*, 'laundryman, clothes washer'. For *πλύσιμα* see P. Cair. Zen. III 457. 7 and UPZ II 158A. 59-60 n., where it is argued correctly that these are the clothes which are washed, not payments for the washing. The word is similar to other occupation names formed by analogy with Latin terms in *-arius*, e.g. ἀχυράριος, διφθεράριος, λυνφάριος, ταρκεϊάριος, τυμπανάριος etc. The connection of the word with washing is confirmed by another occurrence in 3598, where a *πλυσιμάριος* is found alongside a *γνάφισσα*. Muses' partner in the present loan is a *βαφέυς* (29), so Muses' job may have been to treat new cloth before and after it had been dyed, rather than to launder used clothing; on the processes involved see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*<sup>2</sup> iv, 82-6 (washing) and 127-43 (dyeing).

<sup>14</sup>τῆ λύσει τῶν ἁγίων Πάσχων. Πάσχα is usually indeclinable neuter singular, although occasionally treated as a plural, see E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon* s.v., and P. Bouriant 25. 7 (iv AD; corr. BL II). This may be the result of its (very common) false derivation from *πάσχειν* (Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. A.4). In Latin both singular and plural forms are feminine or neuter, see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v.; for the feminine add SPP XIV, Taf. XIII and p. 4 (text). In AD 461 Easter fell on 16 April, see V. Grumcl, *La Chronologie*, 268. Pharmuthi is 27 March-25 April.

<sup>1</sup>For *λύσει* as equivalent to the compounds *διάλυσις*, *κατάλυσις* (a meaning not given by the lexica), cf. PSI VII 831. 9 (v-vi AD) *πρὸ τῆν λύσειν τῆς νηείας* (l. *πρὸ τῆς λύσεως τῆς νηετείας*), which may also refer to Easter, since the document is dated to 1 Pharmuthi.

28 This is a notarial countersignature in Latin letters, which remains illegible, cf. XXXIV 2718 22, ZPE 23 (1976) 142, 35 n.; 34 (1979) 137, 30 n. The expected form is *dī emu* = *δὲ ἐμοῦ*, name, title (sometimes), verb such as *egrafe, esemiothe, etelesthe, eteliothe*. In this case the first letter seems to be followed by a short horizontal, perhaps a mark of abbreviation, *d- = d(i)'*, rather than a vertical that would suit *i*.

Grenfell and Hunt, XVI 1881 24 n., argued against V. Gardthausen, SPP XVII 1-8, that notaries in this period sometimes wrote documents themselves and then used a different style of script for the countersignature. In this case, however, the paler ink of the countersignature confirms that this is another hand.

3599 follows the normal pattern of Oxyrhynchite loans of the Byzantine period in that it is not witnessed; CPR VII 40 Excurs 7, p. 165, notes XIX 2237 (AD 498) as the only exception.

30 In XXXIV 2718 24 of AD 458, in a similar endorsement, we find after the names *σιδηροχαλκ(ῶν) ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν, χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) β'*. Here, in the light of this, we may probably read *πλ[υ]σι[μα]ρ/απορρηγοξυρρυχιτῶν, χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτιον) α*. The remains are very scanty, but most of this is fairly satisfactory. The greatest doubt about assigning traces to letters falls after the xi of *Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν*, where the sense is least doubtful.

## 3600. LEASE OF A DINING-ROOM

66 6B.29/J(1-3)a

14 × 27 cm

1 December 502

But for a few holes, the papyrus is complete. The first hand is a small, practised, upright cursive not unlike that of P. Berol. 11746 of 513 (edited by G. Poethke, *Festschrift Ägypt. Museum Berlin* 409-14 and pl. 64; see also W. Schubart, *Griech. Paläographie* 90-1). The verso contains only the title in one line, written along the fibres; the rest is blank.

Flavius Timotheus offers to lease a dining-room (*συμπόσιον*) in a house in the quarter of 'the lane of the guest-house of Aollus' for an indefinite period. He will pay the yearly rent in two half-yearly instalments; the amount of rent is lost in the lacuna in lines 17-18. Leases of rooms in houses are well attested in the Byzantine period, see the list in Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 202-3. VII 1037-8 and P. Yale I 71 are close parallels to the present text.

Ϡ Ὑπατίας Φλαουίων Πρόβου καὶ Ἀβιηνοῦ τῶν λαμπρ(οτάτων)

Χοιάκ ε, ἰνδικ(τίονος) ια

Φλάουιος Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Ἰωάννου (vac.)

τῆ[ς] ἡγεμονικ[ῆ]ς τάξεως τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχία[ς]

5 ὀρ[μύ]μενος ἀπὸ κόμης Κόβρα τοῦ Ἡρακλ[ε]ο-

πολίτου νομοῦ, τὰ νῦν διάγων ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀξυρρυχιτῶ(ν)

πόλεως, Ἀύρη[λ]ίω Κόμ[ε]τ[ι] υἱὸς C[ε]ρήνου τοῦ κ. [ ]ν.

β[. . . . .]. τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως

χαίρειν· ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι

1 λαμπρ|

6 Ὀξυρρυχιτῶ

7 l. υἱὸς

10 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Χοιάκ τῆς [πα]ρούσης  
 ἐνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 ερ[ι] δ[ια]κειμένων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφόδου  
 ῥημιον τοῦ ξ[ε]ροδοχίου Αὐλλοῦ ἀπὸ οἰκίας  
 γε<υ>ούσης ἐπ[ι] ἀπιλιώτην ὀλόκληρον  
 15 συμπόσιον βλέπον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ μετὰ  
 παντὸς α[ὐτοῦ] τοῦ δικαίου καὶ χριστηρίοις,  
 κ]αὶ τε[λέεω] ὑ]πέρ [ἐνο]ικ[ε]ί[ου] [ ]  
 . . . . . ὅπερ ἐ]νοίκ[ε]ι[ον] ἀποδώσω  
 κατ' [ἔ]τος δι' ἐ[ξαμ]ήνου τὸ ἡμι[ε]ν καὶ ὁπόταν  
 20 βουληθείη[ς] παραδώσω τὸ αὐτὸ  
 συμπ<ός>ιον μ[ετὰ] τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀτρώτου νομῆς  
 ὡς καὶ παρέλ[α]βον· κυρία ἢ μίσθωσις  
 ἀπλή γραφ[ι] (εἶσα) καὶ ] ἐ[π]ερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολόγησα.  
 (m. 2) Ὁ Φλ(άουιος) Τιμόθεος υἱὸς Ἰωάννου ὀφφικι-  
 25 ἄλιος ὁ πρω[γεγ]ραμμένος πεπημοὶ τὴν  
 μίσθωσιν καὶ ἀπ<οδ>ώσω τὴν ἡνῆκιων  
 καὶ συμφω[ν]ί μοι τὰ ἐνγραμμένα  
 ὡς πρόκιτα[ι] κ]αὶ ἐπερωτειθὲς ὠμολό-  
 γησα καὶ ὑπογράψας χιρὶ ἐμῇ ἀπέλυ-  
 30 ς]α.

(m. 3) [ ]δὲ emu Id. . . .

Back: (m. 1?) + Μισθ[. . .] Τιμο[θ]έου ὀφφ[ι]κ. ε. ιου ι. . . αν κόμ(ης) Κόβ[α]  
 το[ῦ] Ἡρ[α]κλεοπολ[ίτου] νομ[οῦ]

11 ὑπαρχόντων 13 l. ῥημίον, οἰκίας 14 l. ἀπιλιώτην 16 l. χριστηρίων 25 l.  
 προγεγραμμένος πεποίημαι 26 l. τὸ ἐνοίκειον 27 l. ἐγγεγραμμένα 28-9 l. πρόκειται,  
 ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα, χιρὶ 29-30 l. ἀπλή [γρ]α[φ]εῖσα? 32 κομῆς

'In the consulship of Fl. Probus and Fl. Avienus, *viri clarissimi*, Choiak 5, 11th indiction. Flavius Timotheus, son of John, <vacat> in the prefect's office of the province of Arcadia, originating from the village of Coba in the Heracleopolite nome but now living in the city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Comes, son of Serenus, . . . of the said city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I voluntarily undertake to lease from the current month of Choiak of the present eleventh indiction from your property, situated in the said city in the quarter of the lane of Aollus' guesthouse, from a house which faces east a complete dining-room facing north with all its rights and appurtenances, and I shall pay as rent . . . , of which rent I shall pay in every year one half every six months; and whenever you wish I shall surrender the said dining-room together with its unimpaired possession just as I received it. This lease, written in one copy only, is valid, and in answer to the formal question I have so declared.

I, Fl. Timotheus, son of John, *officialis*, the afore-mentioned, have made this lease and shall pay the rent and agree to the terms of the contract as stated above, and in answer to the formal question I have so declared and having signed in my own hand I delivered (this document).

Executed by me, Id. . .

(Back): 'Lease of Timotheus, *officialis* . . . from (?) the village of Coba in the Heracleopolite nome.'

3 The scribe seems to have been in doubt about Timotheus' title, so he left the space blank.

13 This quarter of Oxyrhynchus is also mentioned in PSI VI 709. 15 (AD 566) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ξενοδοχείου Κόλλου (read ἄλλου). The same guest-house occurs in P. Lond. V 1762. 12 (6th-7th cent., a list of payments).

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or symbol. The article and (in the documentary texts) *καί* are not indexed.

## I. NEW THEOLOGICAL TEXT

## GOSPEL OF MARY (3525)

(3529, Passion of St Dioscorus, is indexed with the documentary texts)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ἀγαθός [3525 13 <sup>?</sup> ]   | εἰπεῖν 3525 5, [14 <sup>?</sup> ], 16, [19 <sup>?</sup> ], [20 <sup>?</sup> ]                  |
| ἀγαπᾶν [3525 15 <sup>?</sup> ]   | ἐκεῖνος [3525 8 <sup>?</sup> ]   |
| ἀδελφή 3525 15   | ἐκπιθέσαι [3525 3 <sup>?</sup> ]   |
| ἀδελφός [3525 9 <sup>?</sup> ]   | ἐν 3525 19, 20 <sup>?</sup>  |
| ἀκούειν 3525 17  | ἐξίέναι 3525 5 <sup>?</sup>  |
| ἄλλος 3525 16  | ἐπί 3525 13 <sup>?</sup>   |
| ἄνθρωπος 3525 [7 <sup>?</sup> ], 12  | εὐαγγέλιον 3525 7 <sup>?</sup>   |
| ἀνιστάσθαι [3525 9 <sup>?</sup> ]  | εὐχαριστεῖν 3525 11  |
| ἀπαγγέλλειν 3525 18 <sup>?</sup>   |  |
| ἅπας [3525 9 <sup>?</sup> ]  | καί 3525 [6 <sup>?</sup> ], 12, [13 <sup>?</sup> ], 18, [18 <sup>?</sup> ], [19 <sup>?</sup> ] |
| ἀπέχειν 3525 8 <sup>?</sup>  | καταφιλεῖν 3525 9  |
| ἀποκρίνειν 3525 17 <sup>?</sup>  | κηρύσσειν [3525 7 <sup>?</sup> ]   |
| ἀπομνημονεύειν 3525 18   | κρατεῖν [3525 5 <sup>?</sup> ]   |
| ἀπόφθεγμα 3525 14  | κύριος 3525 [19 <sup>?</sup> ], 20 <sup>?</sup>  |
| ἄρχων 3525 [13 <sup>?</sup> ], [18 <sup>?</sup> ]                                  |  |
| αὐτός 3525 [5 <sup>?</sup> ], 9, [10 <sup>?</sup> ], 12, 13, [18-19 <sup>?</sup> ] | λανθάνειν 3525 18  |
|  | λέγειν 3525 6, [9 <sup>?</sup> ], [12 <sup>?</sup> ], [17-18 <sup>?</sup> ], 20 <sup>?</sup>   |
| βασιλεία 3525 7 <sup>?</sup>   | λόγος 3525 17 <sup>?</sup> , 19  |
|  | λυπεῖν 3525 [5 <sup>?</sup> ], [10 <sup>?</sup> ]  |
| γάρ 3525 [8 <sup>?</sup> ], [10 <sup>?</sup> ]                                     |  |
| γινώσκειν [3525 16 <sup>?</sup> ]  | μᾶλλον 3525 11   |
| γυνή 3525 16   | Μαριάμμη 3525 [9 <sup>?</sup> ], 13 <sup>?</sup> , 15, [17 <sup>?</sup> ]                      |
|  | μεγαλειότης 3525 11-12 <sup>?</sup>  |
| δακρύειν 3525 [6 <sup>?</sup> ], [10 <sup>?</sup> ]                                | μετά 3525 11 <sup>?</sup>  |
| δέ [3525 5 <sup>?</sup> ]  | μεταστρέφειν 3525 13   |
| διά [3525 5 <sup>?</sup> ]   | μή [3525 10 (bis <sup>?</sup> )]   |
| διατάσσειν [3525 4 <sup>?</sup> ]  | μηδέ 3525 [8 <sup>?</sup> ], 10  |
| διδόναι [3525 4 <sup>?</sup> ]   | μήποτε [3525 5 <sup>?</sup> ]  |
| δικτάζειν 3525 10  |  |
|  | νομοθέτης [3525 4 <sup>?</sup> ]   |
| ἐγώ 3525 8, 12, 16, 17, 19   | νόμος 3525 3 <sup>?</sup> , [4 <sup>?</sup> ]  |
| ἔθνος [3525 6 <sup>?</sup> ]   | νοῦς 3525 13   |
| εἰ [3525 7 <sup>?</sup> ]  |  |
| εἰδέναι 3525 15  | ὄραμα 3525 19  |
| εἶναι [3525 10 <sup>?</sup> ]  | ὄραν 3525 19 <sup>?</sup> , [20 <sup>?</sup> ]   |

ὄρασις [3525 20?]  
 ὄρος 3525 3?  
 ὄς 3525 [4?], 17?  
 ὄσος 3525 16?, [18?]  
 ὄτι 3525 12, 15  
 οὐ 3525 16, 17  
 οὐδέ 3525 3?, [4?]  
 οὐδέις 3525 3?  
 οὐν 3525 16  
 οὐτος 3525 [4?], 5, 19?  
 οὕτω [3525 12?]

παρά [3525 3?]  
 πᾶς [3525 9?]  
 περί 3525 14  
 Πέτρος [3525 14?]  
 ποιεῖν [3525 12?]  
 πολὺς 3525 [6?], 15  
 πορεύειν 3525 6?  
 ποτε 3525 19  
 πρὸς 3525 [6?], 15?  
 πῶς 3525 6, 8

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 σκέπειν 3525 11?  
 σύ 3525 [4?], 11 (bis), 18?, [18?], 20?  
 συζητεῖν 3525 13-14?  
 συναρτᾶν 3525 12?  
 σωτήρ 3525 14, 16?, 17

τότε [3525 8?]

υἱός [3525 7?]  
 ὑπό [3525 15?]  
 ὑπολαμβάνειν 3525 17?, 20?

φείδεσθαι 3525 8? (bis?)

χάρις [3525 10?]  
 χεῖρ [3525 8?]

ὦς 3525 16  
 ὦσπερ [3525 4?]

## II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

### (a) EURIPIDES (3530-3531)

ἀθετεῖν 3531 unplaced fr.  
 ἀθλος 3531 19  
 Αἰγύς 3530 10?  
 αἰσθάνεσθαι 3531 9?  
 αἶψ[ 3531 22?  
 ἀκούειν 3531 8  
 ἄκρος 3530 3?  
 ἄλγος 3531 10?  
 ἄλκαρ 3531 10?  
 ἀλλά 3531 10?, 15  
 ἄν [3530 8?] 3531 [16?], 17  
 ἀναμνησκειν 3531 25  
 ἀντίγραφον [3531 unplaced fr.?  
 ἀπ. [ 3531 22?  
 ἀποστερεῖν 3531 22  
 ἀπρούπτως 3531 13  
 ἀρ[ 3531 26?  
 ἄσημος 3531 14  
 ἄσκοπος [3531 17?]  
 ἀσφαλής 3530 4?  
 ἀτη 3531 13  
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι [3531 20?]  
 ἀχλύς 3531 18

βο[ 3530 5  
 βο[στρυχ- 3530 5?

βοῦς 3530 5?  
 βροτός [3531 8?]

γάρ 3531 [17?], 20  
 (γίγνεσθαι) γεγώς [3530 11?]  
 γλώσσα 3530 7? 3531 20

δα[ 3530 3  
 δαυός 3530 3?  
 δέ 3530 5?, [10?], 11 3531 14?, 16, 25?, [unplaced fr.?  
 δεινός [3530 8?] [3531 7?]  
 δεξιὰ 3530 13  
 δέρεσθαι 3531 1?  
 δῆ 3531 7?  
 διαφαίρειν 3530 7?  
 διελθεῖν 3531 24  
 δράκων 3531 1?  
 δυσπραξία 3531 11

ἐγγύς 3531 9  
 ἐγώ 3531 [7?], [20?]  
 ἔδρα [3530 4?]  
 εἶναι 3531 14, 17, 22, unplaced fr.?  
 εἰς 3530 6  
 ἐκ 3530 11

ἐκδύειν 3530 12  
 ἔλληγν 3531 16  
 ἐμός 3531 18, 19, 24?  
 ἐν 3530 9? 3531 unplaced fr.?  
 ἐντοπ- 3530 9?  
 ἐντος 3530 9?  
 ἐντός 3530 9?  
 ἐπίστασθαι 3531 4  
 ἐπίσχειν 3531 3?  
 ἔργον [3530 11?]  
 ἐρωτᾶν 3531 19  
 ἔσθημα 3530 12?  
 ἔχειν 3530 2

ἦ 3531 12?  
 ἦ 3531 12?  
 ἡμέρα [3531 23?]  
 Ἡρακλῆς 3531 (7), (21)  
 ἦχώ 3531 20

θαρεῖν 3530 8  
 θαῦμα 3531 21  
 θεατής 3530 4  
 θεός 3531 6  
 θήρ 3530 12  
 Θεοεὺς 3530 11  
 θυμοῦν [3530 6?]

ἰέναι 3530 1?, [12?]  
 ἴνα 3531 26?  
 Ἰξίον 3531 7

καί 3530 3 3531 [7?], 23 (bis), 25  
 καλεῖν [3530 10?]  
 κέρας 3530 6?  
 κίειν 3530 1?  
 κίων 3530 1?  
 κορόνη 3530 13  
 κυρτός 3530 6

λαμβάνειν [3530 4?]  
 λέγειν 3531 16?  
 λεύσσειν [3530 5?]  
 λόγος 3530 10? 3531 8

μακρός 3530 3? [3531 10?]  
 μέν 3530 5, 10  
 μηρός 3530 9  
 μυκτήρ 3530 7?

νοουτεία 3531 2?

ὄδε 3531 14?, [15?], 20?  
 ὀδοὺς 3530 8?

οἶος 3531 17  
 ὀμίλια [3531 24?]  
 ὄμμα [3531 17?]  
 ὀνειρατώδης 3531 15  
 ὄπισθε 3530 1?  
 ὀπλίξειν 3530 13?  
 ὀρᾶν 3531 8, 16  
 ὀργή 3531 3  
 ὄσσε [3531 18?]  
 ὄστις 3531 12?  
 οὐ [3531 16?]  
 οὐδέ 3531 9, [14?]  
 οὐδέις 3531 9, 21  
 οὐκέτι 3531 14  
 ὀψέ 3531 5

παῖς 3531 7?, 11?  
 πάντως 3531 21  
 πάροιθε 3531 18  
 πᾶς 3530 4? 3531 11?  
 πάσχειν [3531 8?]  
 Πειρίθους 3531 (14), (26)  
 πελάξειν 3531 10  
 πέλας [3530 12?]  
 πετάννυσθαι 3531 17  
 πολὺς 3531 7?, 24, unplaced fr.?  
 πόρος [3530 7?]  
 Ποσειδῶν 3530 11?  
 ποτε [3531 9?]  
 πρὸς 3531 20?  
 προσβάλλειν 3531 20?  
 πρόσθε 3530 1?

σαφής [3531 16?]  
 σέβεσθαι 3531 6  
 σιγή 3531 26  
 σκήψις 3531 12  
 σός 3531 10, 25  
 σύ [3531 22?]  
 συμφορά [3531 9?]  
 συνιέναι ('intellegere') 3531 5?  
 σχήμα 3531 23  
 σῶμα 2078<sup>1</sup> 18

τε 3530 2? 3531 8, 17  
 τηνοῦ[ 3531 2  
 τησ[ 3531 28  
 τίνειν 3531 12?  
 τις 3530 8? 3531 12? (bis?), 21  
 τίς 3531 12? (bis?)  
 τοπ- 3530 9?  
 τοσ- 3530 9?  
 τύχη [3531 9?]

ὑπερβάλλειν [3531 10?]  
ὑπερβολή [3531 10?]

φθέγμα 3531 23  
φρήν [3531 20?]  
φωνί [3531 27]  
φωνεῖν [3531 15?]

Χορός (3531 5)

ψαίρειν 3530 7?

ὡς [3530 8?]

## (b) COMEDY (3532-3534, 3540-3541)

ἀγρός 3540 31  
ἄδελος 3532<sup>1</sup> 16  
ἄδυνατος 3532<sup>3</sup> 19? 3533 17?  
ἄει 3533 2  
αἰεθάνεσθαι 3532<sup>1</sup> 19  
αἰσχρός 3532<sup>3</sup> 9 3533 7  
αἰσχύνειν 3533 6  
αἴτιον 3532<sup>3</sup> 22  
ἀκριβῶς 3533 9  
ἀλλά 3532<sup>1</sup> 13, 18  
ἄμα 3540 27  
ἄν 3533 11?  
ἄνῆρ 3532<sup>1</sup> 7?  
ἄνθρωπος 3534 5  
ἀπολείπειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 5?  
ἀπολλύναι 3534 3?  
ἀσπλεῖν 3540 36  
ἄρα [3534 3?]  
ἀτυχεῖν 3532<sup>1</sup> 2?  
αὐτός 3532<sup>1</sup> 8, 3 18? 3533 1?, 8?

βαδίζειν 3540 23, 25?  
Βατραχίον (3534 3?)  
Βάτραχος (3534 3?)  
Βίαις 3534 7  
βούλεσθαι 3540 21

γάρ 3532<sup>1</sup> 4, 21 3533 14  
γίγνεσθαι 3540 28  
γιγνώσκειν 3541 2  
γνώμη 3533 12  
γυνή 3533 5

δέ 3532<sup>1</sup> 3, 16 3540 12, 34 3541 2?  
δεύτερος 3532<sup>3</sup> 21? 3533 19?  
Δημήτηρ 3540 2?  
διά 3532<sup>1</sup> 6  
διαβάλλειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 23?, 24?  
διδόναι 3540 14?  
δίδυμος 3540 13  
δοκεῖν 3532<sup>3</sup> 19  
δύο 3532<sup>1</sup> 11

ἐγώ 3532<sup>1</sup> 15, 18, 23?  
εἰ 3532<sup>1</sup> 13, 16

εἰδέναι 3532<sup>3</sup> 8 3533 6 3540 10?  
εἶναι 3532<sup>1</sup> 16, 19?, 3 11 3533 9, 16? 3540 7?, 10?  
εἰς 3532<sup>1</sup> 17  
εἶς [3532<sup>3</sup> 5?] [3533 3?]  
ἐκβάλλειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 18  
ἐκείνος 3532<sup>1</sup> 12, 20, 23 3540 24  
ἐλεύθερος [3532<sup>3</sup> 7] [3533 5]  
ἐξισάζειν 3533 3?  
ἐπειδάν 3541 2?  
ἐπί 3540 20  
ἐπιδιδόναι 3532<sup>1</sup> 2  
ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν 3532<sup>1</sup> 4?  
ἐσπερα 3540 3  
ἔτερος 3532<sup>1</sup> 13  
εὐθέως 3540 36  
εὖνους 3532<sup>1</sup> 19  
εὐφυσίως 3534 2  
ἔχειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 15

Ζεύς 3534 4  
ζῆν 3532<sup>1</sup> 4  
ζωννύναι 3540 16

ἠγείεσθαι 3533 13  
ἦκειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 17? [3540 1?]

Θεσμοφόρια 3540 1?  
θυγατ. [3540 8  
θυγάτριον 3540 13

ιέναι 3532<sup>1</sup> 9 3540 4?  
ἵνα 3540 12?

καί 3532<sup>1</sup> 1 3540 19, 27  
κακός 3534 3 (bis?)  
κακουργεῖν 3533 6  
καλεῖν [3540 2?]  
Καλλυγένεια [3540 2?]  
καλῶς 3532<sup>1</sup> 15  
κατά 3532<sup>3</sup> 5? 3533 3?  
κοινωνός 3532<sup>1</sup> 9  
κολακεύειν 3533 7

λέγειν 3532<sup>3</sup> 14 3533 12  
λιπαρεῖν 3540 17

λύπη 3533 17?  
λυπηρός 3540 7?

μά 3532<sup>1</sup> 8  
μάλλον 3532<sup>3</sup> 18 3533 7, 16  
μάχη 3532<sup>3</sup> 7 3533 5  
μέν 3532<sup>1</sup> 13  
μηδεῖς 3532<sup>1</sup> 14  
μήτηρ 3540 2?  
Μίδαις 3540 32

νέμειν 3540. 18?  
νή 3534 4  
νουθετεῖν 3532<sup>3</sup> 4 3533 2  
νῦν 3533 8

ὄδυνηρός 3532<sup>1</sup> 14  
οἰκέιν 3532<sup>1</sup> 11  
οἰκέτης 3540 31  
οἰκία 3532<sup>1</sup> 11 3533 15 3540 15, 20  
οἴχεσθαι 3540 25  
ὀλίγος 3532<sup>3</sup> 23  
ὄς 3540 24?  
ὄταν 3532<sup>1</sup> 21  
ὄτι 3533 13?  
οὐ [3540 10?]  
οὐδέ 3541 2?  
οὐδέεις [3532<sup>3</sup> 9] [3533 7]  
οὐδν 3540 12?  
οὐποτε 3533 11  
οὗτος 3532<sup>1</sup> 6, 10?, 15?, 16, 17, 3 22 3533 1?, 8?, 10?

παιδίον 3540 18, 27  
Παμφίλη 3532<sup>3</sup> 6 3533 4  
παραλύειν 3533 4  
παραμύθιον 3532<sup>3</sup> 3 3533 1  
παριέναι 3540 4?  
παριστάναι 3532<sup>3</sup> 17 3533 15  
πᾶς 3533 10?  
πιστός 3540 32?  
πλάσσειν 3532<sup>3</sup> 14? 3533 12?  
πλείων 3532<sup>3</sup> [8], 8 3533 [6], 6  
ποιεῖν 3533 11  
πόρνη 3532<sup>3</sup> 7 3533 5  
ποτε 3533 1, 13  
πότερον 3532<sup>1</sup> 6.

προνοεῖν 3540 7?  
προοράν 3532<sup>1</sup> 8  
πρός 3533 5 [3540 1?]  
προσέχειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 12  
πταίειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 10  
Πυθία 3532<sup>3</sup> 10 3533 8

ῥάδιος 3532<sup>1</sup> 22

Στρουθίας 3534 (4), 6  
κύ 3533 4, 8 [3540 1?]  
συμβουλή 3541 3  
συμφέρειν 3532<sup>3</sup> 15 3533 13  
συνευτυχεῖν 3532<sup>1</sup> 7  
συνήθης 3540 19?  
συντέμνειν 3540 12  
σχημα 3532<sup>3</sup> 5? 3533 3?  
σώζειν 3540 26  
σωτηρία 3540 5?

τε 3532<sup>3</sup> 5? 3533 1?  
τέμνειν 3540 18?  
τίκτειν 3540 34  
τις 3540 17, 31 3541 2  
τίς 3540 10  
τοιούτος 3532<sup>1</sup> 17  
τότε 3532<sup>3</sup> 3 3540 24  
τρίβειν 3541 2?  
τρίτος 3540 1  
τροφός 3540 2, 14  
τύχη 3532<sup>3</sup> 20

φάνα 3540 14?  
φέρειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 10 3540 33  
φεύγειν 3532<sup>1</sup> 3  
φίλος 3540 19  
φράζειν 3540 33  
φρονεῖν 3532<sup>3</sup> 16 3533 14

Χαιρέας 3534 7?  
χαίρειν 3534 7?  
χαλεπός 3532<sup>3</sup> 6 3533 4  
Χαρίσιος 3532<sup>1</sup> 18?  
χείρων 3532<sup>1</sup> 22  
χρυσός 3541 2?

## (c) HEXAMETER VERSE (3535-3537)

ἀγκαλυτός 3537 ↓ 23  
ἀγάλλειν 3537 ↓ 9?  
Ἀγανίπη 3537 → 18  
ἀγγεῖλος [3537 ↓ 13?]  
ἀγειν 3535 ii 25 3537 → 5?, ↓ 8

ἀγκοινα 3537 ↓ 22?  
ἀγλαός 3537 ↓ 5, 8  
ἄγριος 3537 → 25  
ἀγρωῖτης 3537 → 23?  
ἀγών 3537 → 13



αείδειν 3537 → 28, ↓ 4  
 αείρειν 3535 i 24  
 \*ἀεργενός 3536 3  
 αἶ 3537 ↓ 8  
 αἶδρις [3537 → 23?]  
 αἶξ 3537 → 12  
 αἰπολικός 3537 → 24  
 ἀκούειν 3535 i 8  
 ἄκρος 3536 2  
 ἀλίαςτος 3535 i 24  
 ἀλλά 3537 → 1  
 ἀλλητ[ 3535 ii 13  
 ἄλκος [3537 → 6?]  
 ἀμηχανία 3535 i 17  
 ἀμήχανος 3535 i 11  
 ἄν 3536 ii 3537 → 3  
 ἀναβάλλειν 3537 → 22  
 ἀναδέχεσθαι 3536 ii  
 ἀναξ 3535 i 9, 26  
 ἀνδάνειν 3537 → 24  
 ἀνω 3535 i 8  
 ἀνήκειν 3537 ↓ 23?  
 ἀνήρ 3535 i 4, 18, 31, ii 32 3536 8, [12?]  
 ἀνθος 3537 ↓ 23?  
 ἀνθρωπος 3535 i 33 3536 i  
 ἀνέναι 3537 ↓ 23?  
 ἀνίη 3537 ↓ 7  
 ἀνομότη 3537 ↓ 14?  
 Ἀντίνοος 3537 ↓ 3?, 4  
 ἀοιδή 3537 → 17, 21, ↓ 6, 10, 12  
 ἀπατήλιος 3535 i 23  
 ἀπό 3536 7 3537 → [7?], [18?]  
 ἀποστρυγεῖν 3537 → 25?  
 ἄρα 3536 5  
 ἀργυρότοξος 3537 ↓ 11  
 ἀρετή 3537 ↓ 5?  
 ἀρπάζειν 3536 3  
 ἄσθμα 3537 → 5  
 Ἄσκη 3537 → 15  
 ἀτάρ 3535 i 29  
 αἶ 3537 → 16?  
 ἀϋθι[ 3535 ii 15  
 ἀλλις 3537 → 12?  
 αὐλός 3536 8?  
 αἰσο, [ 3535 ii 17  
 Ἀβόμιος 3535 ii 31  
 αὐτ[ 3535 ii 18  
 αὐτάρ 3537 ↓ 14?  
 αὐτίκα 3535 i 25?, ii 20  
 αὐτις 3535 i 15  
 αὐτμή 3536 7, [11?]  
 αὐτοκασιγν[ 3535 ii 21  
 αὐτός 3535 i 3, ii 27 3537 → 9, 11, 15?, 16?, 25,  
 ↓ 15?

αὐτοῦ [3536 10?]  
 ἀφαιρός 3537 → 22  
 ἄψευστος 3537 → 18?

βάξω 3535 i 23  
 βαίνειν [3537 → 28?]  
 βαίος 3537 → 15?  
 βασιλεύς 3535 i 28, ii 27  
 βένθος 3535 i 6  
 βήη 3535 ii 29  
 βολαῖν 3535 i 9  
 βολή 3536 6  
 βοτάν 3537 → 6  
 βουκολικός 3537 → 22  
 βουκόλος 3536 12?  
 βουλή 3537 ↓ 16  
 βώλος 3536 3

γάρ 3535 i 3 3536 12 3537 → 21, ↓ 6, [13?]  
 γενεή [3537 → 10?]  
 γένος 3537 → 9  
 γενέειν 3536 5  
 γίγας 3537 → 9  
 γίγνεσθαι 3537 → 4?  
 γλωχίν 3536 2?  
 γυνή 3537 → 10

δατεῖσθαι 3535 ii 30  
 δάφνη 3537 → 8  
 δέ 3535 i 14, 30?, ii 31 3536 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11 3537  
 → 1?, 15?, 18, [20?], 25 [27?], 28, ↓ 8, 11, 12, 16?  
 δέρεκεσθαι 3537 → 11?  
 δευετα[ 3535 ii 9  
 δεύτερος 3535 i 15  
 δή 3537 ↓ 4?  
 δημογέρων 3535 ii 32?  
 δημότερος 3535 ii 32?  
 δηρός 3535 i 17, ii 19  
 διδάσκειν 3537 → 17  
 διδόναι 3535 ii 25 3537 ↓ 7?, 16?  
 διερός 3536 7  
 δινεῖν 3536 13?  
 δίος 3537 → 10?  
 Δίος 3537 → 19  
 διπλός 3535 i 22  
 δοιοί 3535 i 4  
 δρέπειν [3537 → 8?]  
 δυσχηγής [3537 → 23?]  
 δυσμεν[ 3535 ii 8  
 δάμα 3537 → 15

ἐγγύθι 3536 3  
 ἐγός 3535 i 2 3537 → 2, 5, [5?], 9, 14?, [17?], 19, 24,  
 [26?], 26, ↓ [6?], 7

ἐέλδωρ 3535 i 28  
 ἐθέλειν 3537 → 28?  
 εἶ 3536 8 3537 ↓ 7  
 εἶδέναι 3535 i 20  
 εἶθ[ 3535 ii 14  
 εἶναι 3535 i 8  
 εἰπεῖν 3537 → 3?, 9  
 εἶς 3537 → 21?  
 εἶς 3537 → 7  
 ἐκ 3537 → 2, 26 (bis or ter)  
 ἐκδιδάσκειν 3537 → 4?  
 ἐκηλος 3535 i 13  
 Ἐλικών 3537 → 7  
 ἔλκειν 3536 8?  
 ἐμός 3537 → 12  
 ἐμπνεῖν 3536 7? 13 3537 → 4?  
 ἐν 3535 i 14 3537 [→ 23?], [↓ 22?]  
 ἐνδοθεν 3535 i 10  
 ἐνδοξος 3537 → 7?  
 ἐνέπειν 3537 → 11?, ↓ 17?  
 ἐνθεος 3537 → 4?, 5?  
 ἐνί 3535 i 17, 22 (ἐνι)  
 ἐντοθε 3536 4  
 ἐξαιρεῖν 3537 → 18  
 ἐός 3535 i 1  
 ἔπειτα 3537 ↓ 14?  
 ἐπί 3535 i [17?], 29?  
 ἐπιδέχεσθαι 3536 9  
 ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι 3537 ↓ 6?  
 ἐπισταμένως 3536 4  
 ἐπίστασθαι 3537 → 7?  
 ἐπιτιθέναι 3535 i 29-30?  
 ἐπώνυμος [3537 → 2?]  
 ἔργον 3535 i 11, 27  
 ἐριθηλής 3537 → 8?  
 Ἐρμείης 3537 ↓ 5, 13  
 Ἐρμής 3537 ↓ 1?  
 ἐς 3537 → 13  
 ἔτερος 3536 11  
 ἐτερόφρων 3535 i 21  
 ἔτι 3537 → 1?, 14  
 εὖ 3535 i 9  
 εὐδοξος 3537 → 7?  
 εὐπέταλος 3537 → 8  
 εὐρύς 3535 i 6  
 ἔχειν 3535 i 33, ii 4

Ζεύς 3537 → 26, ↓ 8?

ἦδη 3537 → 28  
 ἦέ 3535 ii 29  
 ἦεπερ 3535 i 7  
 ἦετωνη[ 3535 ii 7  
 ἦμέτερος 3537 ↓ 12?

ἦνωγε[ 3535 ii 12  
 Ἡρακλῆς 3537 → 2?  
 ἦραμ[ 3535 ii 10  
 ἦρος 3537 → 10  
 Ἡρόδοτος [3537 → 3?]  
 ἦτορ 3535 i 10, 22  
 ἦύτε 3536 5?  
 Ἡφαιστος 3536 6  
 ἦχη 3537 → 25

θαλερός 3536 5  
 θεή 3537 → 1  
 θεῖος 3536 11 3537 → 27?  
 θεόπνευστος 3537 → 18?  
 θεός 3535 i 14 3537 → 5, [9?]  
 θεοῦν 3537 → 1?  
 θερμαίνειν 3536 2

ἰδέ [3537 → 27?]  
 ἰέναι 3537 → 13, ↓ 13?  
 ἰερός 3537 → 5?, 14  
 ἰθύνειν 3535 i 5  
 ἰσος 3535 i 2  
 ἰστάναι 3535 i 14? 3537 → 1?, 21?

καί 3535 i 3, 20, 29, ii 24, 31 3537 → [2?], [6?], 6?,  
 [12?], 20?, ↓ 1?, 5?, 11, [12?], [13?]  
 κάλαμος 3537 → 25?  
 καλαῦροψ 3536 12?  
 καλλίροος 3537 ↓ 9?  
 καλός 3537 [→ 17?], [↓ 6?]  
 κάμιος 3536 4?  
 κασίγνητος 3537 → 20?  
 κατά 3535 i 6  
 κατάσκκιος [3537 → 6?]  
 κατατιθέναι 3535 i 2  
 κεινοί 3535 ii 29  
 κείσθαι 3537 → 14?  
 κελ[ 3535 ii 23  
 κιττός 3537 → 14?  
 κλέοςδε 3537 → 28?  
 κλύειν 3535 i 27  
 κοῖλος 3536 4  
 κοινός 3537 ↓ 22?  
 κοίρανος 3535 i 31  
 κόσμος 3537 → 11  
 κράτος 3535 i 4  
 κρέων 3537 ↓ 11?  
 κρήνη 3537 ↓ 10  
 κρίνειν 3535 ii 28  
 Κρονίων 3535 i 32  
 κρίσταλλος 3536 6  
 κτίλος [3537 → 14?]  
 κυδαίνειν 3537 ↓ 13?  
 κύκλος 3537 → 13?

κύμβη 3537 → 16?  
κυρτοῦν 3536 10

λαός 3535 i 29  
λείπειν [3537 → 27?]  
Λητογενής 3537 ↓ 11?  
Λητοίδης 3537 ↓ 11?  
Λητώ 3537 ↓ 11?  
λιγυρός [3537 ↓ 10?]  
λίτεσθαι 3537 ↓ 12  
λόγος 3537 → 3

μαλθάσειν 3536 6  
μάνδρη 3537 → 12  
μάντις 3537 ↓ 5  
μέλαθρον 3537 → 27  
μέλπειν 3537 → 23, ↓ 10  
μεμονέναι 3535 i 14?  
μέν 3535 i 9 3536 2?, 12 [3537 ↓ 8?]  
μένος 3537 [→ 26?], [↓ 12?]  
μέσος 3535 i 14  
μετά 3535 i 19?  
μετα[ 3535 ii 22  
μεταφανεῖν 3535 i 31  
μετενέπειν 3535 i 15  
μηδέ 3537 → 1?  
μήλον 3537 → 6  
μηλονόμος 3537 → 17  
μήτρω 3537 → 20  
μιμνήσκειν 3537 ↓ 16?  
Μοῦσα 3537 → 4, 17, 26, ↓ 9

ναίειν 3535 ii 23  
νόος 3535 i 18  
νυ 3535 i 3  
νύν 3537 → 19 (bis), ↓ 8, 12, 17  
νύξ 3537 → 7

ό 3535 i 30?, ii 30  
όδε 3537 ↓ 17?  
όζος 3537 → 8  
οιος 3535 i 7  
οίος 3535 i 8 3537 → 15?  
οιωλα[ 3535 ii 6  
όλβιος 3537 → 20  
όμώς 3535 i 12  
όποιος 3536 12?  
όρμη 3536 [9?], 11  
όρούειν 3535 i 25  
ός 3535 i 22?  
όςος 3535 ii 26 3537 → 22  
όςσε 3537 → 11  
όςσος 3537 ↓ 16?  
όςτε 3535 i 4

ού 3537 → 15?, 21?, ↓ 6  
ούδ 3535 ii 27  
ούδαμ[ 3535 ii 11  
ούδέ 3535 i 11, ii 18 3537 → 1?, 14, 16, 22, 24, ↓ 7  
ούκέτι 3537 → 14  
ούλοός 3537 → 2  
Ούλύμπειος 3537 → 27?  
ούν 3536 2  
ούνομα 3535 i 29  
ούράνιος 3537 → 26  
ούρος 3537 → 6, [23?], ↓ 19?

παίς 3535 i 1  
παρά [3537 ↓ 12?]  
παραγίνεσθαι 3537 → 19?  
πάροιθεν 3536 10  
πάρος 3537 → 12  
πάς 3535 i 12, 13, 25 3537 → 10, 16, ↓ 16  
πατήρ 3537 → 19  
παῦρος 3537 → 22  
πέθειν 3535 i 5  
πειράν 3535 i 18 3536 8  
πελε[ 3535 ii 32  
περί 3536 10? [3537 ↓ 1?]  
Πέρσης 3537 → 20  
Πηπλείη 3537 ↓ 10?  
πλήσσειν 3537 → 26?  
πνεῖν 3537 ↓ 12?  
πνεῦμα 3536 9?  
ποίμνη 3537 → 14  
πόλεμος 3537 → 9?  
πολλάκι 3536 12  
πολύς 3535 i 17 3537 → 18?  
πόντος 3535 i 6  
που 3535 i 3  
πραπίδες 3535 i 16  
προλείπειν 3537 → 6  
πρυλ[ 3535 ii 24  
πρώτος 3536 2?  
πτήσσειν 3535 i 14?  
πτόλεμος 3537 → 13?  
πυκάζειν 3535 i 10  
Πυκμήδη 3537 → 19  
πυλεών 3537 → 27?  
πύλη 3537 → 27?  
πύρ 3536 5  
πάποτε 3537 ↓ 6

ρήιδίως 3537 → 23

σαοῦν 3537 → 1?  
σῆμα 3537 → 1  
σῆδος [3536 2?]  
σός 3537 ↓ 5

σούφην 3537 ↓ 16?  
στόμα 3536 7  
στρα[ 3535 ii 28  
σύ 3535 i 19, 20 3537 → 1, 15?, [20?], ↓ 4?, 11  
σύμπας 3537 → 15?  
συμφράδμων 3535 ii 31  
σύν 3535 ii 24, 31 3537 → [15?], 25, [↓ 12?]  
σύριγξ 3537 → 24  
σφαιρηδόν 3536 10

τε 3535 ii 27 3536 8 3537 → 6, 9, 10 (bis), [28?],  
[↓ 5?]  
τε. . [ 3535 ii 26  
τέκνον 3537 ↓ 8, 21  
τέκος 3537 ↓ 13?  
τελείειν 3537 ↓ 21  
τελευτάν 3535 i 32  
τερπνός 3536 9  
τεύχειν 3536 1?  
τέχνη 3536 8  
τήλε 3535 ii 22  
τηνίκα 3535 i 25  
τιθέναι 3535 i 30? 3536 4?  
τίκτειν 3537 ↓ 22  
τινάσσειν 3537 → 5  
τις 3537 → 1?  
τίς 3537 → 3, 5, [5?], 7  
το. [ 3535 ii 25  
τοκεύς 3535 i 1, 30  
τοσσο[ 3535 ii 5

τόσσο 3535 ii 26? 3537 ↓ 19?  
τουτο[ 3535 ii 2  
τριτάλας 3537 → 12?

ύδωρ 3537 ↓ 9  
ύελος 3536 [3?], 9  
υίός 3537 ↓ [11?], 13  
ύμνος 3537 ↓ 4  
ύπατος [3537 → 26?]  
ύπέρτατος 3537 ↓ 8?  
ύπό 3536 6 3537 → 3  
\*ύπόσσεισθαι 3535 i 16

φαίνειν 3535 i 12 3537 → 27  
φατειός 3535 i 11  
φείδεσθαι 3535 i 1  
φέρειν [3537 → 8?]  
φίλος 3537 ↓ 21  
φύλον 3537 → 10?  
φώς 3535 i 21  
φωτο[ 3535 ii 3

χεύμα [3537 → 18?]  
χρήζειν 3537 → [16?], 16?

ώδε 3535 i 3  
ώδη 3537 ↓ 1?  
ώκός 3536 8? 3537 ↓ 13?  
ώς 3535 i 14 3536 8

## (d) MELIC VERSE (3538-3539)

άγρυπνος 3538 1 i 15?  
άδελφεά 3538 31 5?  
αιτο[ 3538 1 ii 10  
άλάμπητος 3538 30 4  
αλλ[ 3538 23 4  
άλλος 3539 1 5?  
άμβροσι- 3539 2 1  
άμος 3538 27 10  
άμφί 3538 1 i 8  
άπό 3539 2 1  
άρετή 3539 1 4?  
Άριστόλας 3538 30 3?  
άρπάζειν 3538 1 i 12?  
ασπ[ 3538 29 5  
ατας. [ 3538 1 ii 12  
αυτός 3538 27 2?  
αυτός 3538 1 i 7  
άφαιρείν 3539 1 3?  
Άφ]ροδιτ[- 3538 29 6?  
άώς 3538 27 11

βαρύνειν 3538 1 i 14?

γη 3539 2 3?  
γλυκύς 3538 23 3?  
γυίον 3538 1 i 14

δάγμα[ 3538 1 ii 9  
δέ 3538 1 i 5, 11, 14 3539 2 2  
δειν 3538 1 i 9  
δυσώδης 3539 1 6  
δάμα 3538 30 4?

έγειρειν 3539 2 3  
έγώ 3538 1 i 9  
είς [3539 2 2?]  
είσαναβαίνειν 3538 27 11?  
είσανιέναι 3538 27 11?  
έλαίνων 3538 22 4  
έλκεσίπτελος 3538 2 6?  
έν 3538 1 i 7

ἐπήρατος 3538<sup>1</sup> i 6?  
ἐπί 3539<sup>2</sup> 5?  
ἔρωσ 3539<sup>2</sup> 5  
Εὐρώπη 3539<sup>1</sup> 2?  
εὐώδης 3538<sup>1</sup> i 9  
ἔχειν 3539<sup>2</sup> 2

ἠργιγένεια 3538<sup>27</sup> 12

θεά 3538<sup>1</sup> i 12  
θεός 3538<sup>27</sup> 13?  
θῆρ 3539<sup>1</sup> 3?  
θυμός 3539<sup>2</sup> 2

ιαίνειν 3538<sup>1</sup> i 15  
ιέναι 3539<sup>2</sup> 2

κάλυξ 3538<sup>1</sup> i 7  
κλεος[ 3538<sup>1</sup> ii 6  
κλίνειν 3538<sup>27</sup> 9?  
κόνις 3539<sup>2</sup> 3

λακτ[ 3538<sup>1</sup> ii 11  
λεύκισπος 3538<sup>27</sup> 10?

μαινο[ 3538<sup>1</sup> ii 8  
μέγας 3538<sup>26(a)</sup> 16?  
μεμπ[ 3538<sup>1</sup> ii 7  
μηφε[ 3538<sup>1</sup> ii 5  
Μόισα 3538<sup>27</sup> 4

ναός 3538<sup>1</sup> i 8  
Νικαγόρα 3538<sup>2</sup> 5?  
Νικαγόρας 3538<sup>2</sup> 5?  
νόκος 3538<sup>26(a)</sup> 2?  
νύξ [3538<sup>1</sup> i 15?]

ξενίη 3539<sup>1</sup> 4?  
ξένιος 3539<sup>1</sup> 4?

ὀμᾶλιξ 3538<sup>24</sup> 3?  
ὄμμα 3539<sup>2</sup> 4  
ὀπάζειν 3538<sup>1</sup> i 12?  
ὀρᾶν 3539<sup>2</sup> 1

Ἀθηναίος 3543 14  
Ἀθήνησι [3543 2?]  
ἀκούειν [3543 4?] 3544 iv 5, 8-9?  
ἀμείνων [3543 11?]  
ἀμφιβητεῖν 3542 18?  
ἄν 3543 32?  
ἀναιρεῖν 3544 iv 16  
Ἀναξιμένης 3543 28

ὄργια 3539<sup>2</sup> 2  
ου[ 3538<sup>1</sup> ii 4  
ουδαν[ 3538<sup>1</sup> ii 13  
οὐδέ 3539<sup>1</sup> 6?  
ὀ[φθαλμο[- 3538<sup>27</sup> 7

παι[ 3538<sup>27</sup> 5  
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